HISTORY OF HISTORY

I. WHAT IS HISTORY?

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DEDICATED TO
ALL SEEKERS, SPEAKERS
AND SUPPORTERS OF
TRUTH

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This treatise is a tribute of gratitude to all those conscientious scholars, dead and living, whose works I have consulted and quoted. (*Vide* Bibliography at the end). I am particularly grateful to Professors Perry, Rosenthal, Shotwell and Thompson, who are pioneers in the field of History of History and Historiography. Professor Rosenthal has rendered a remarkable service to the cause of Muslim Historiography by translating As-Sakhawi's *I'lan* and incorporating it in his work on *A History of Muslim Historiography* and giving the English rendering of Allama Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddima* in three volumes with copious notes. My account of Muslim Historiography in Chapter VI is based mainly on his translation of As-Sakhawi's *I'lan*, which was not available to me in original. In the absence of the original, I have relied upon his erudition and followed his translation. Among the librarians who have helped me with the supply of source-material, Messrs Nazir Ahmad (Central Library, Bahawalpur), Khwajah Nur Elahi (Public Library, Lahore) and Mr. Bashir Ahmad (Panjab University Library, Lahore) deserve specific mention. To all of them I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I also express with profound pleasure my deep sense of gratitude to the students, research scholars, lecturers and professors who attended my lectures, raised a number of points and participated in the discussions that followed.

TRANSLITERATION

I have not followed the padagogic practice of putting diacritical marks about the words of Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Hindi languages for the simple reason that it is of little use to the reader conversant with these languages and equally futile for the reader who has no knowledge thereof. So far as proper names (such as Lahore, Lucknow, etc.) are concerned, I have adhered to the conventional or popular spelling, with which the general reader is well acquainted. I have tried to transliterate other such words in such a way as to present no difficulty in pronouncing them.

CORRIGENDA

For As-Sahawi, wherever it occurs, *read* As Sahawi or As-Sakhawi.

Page 36 line 15 (from top) *for* immeasuable *read* immeasurable,
Page 152 paragraph 4 line 2 *for* acquinted *read* acquainted.
Page 385 line 1 (from top) *after* purpose *add* of.
Page 452 line 1 (from top) *delete* about (first word).
Page 508 footnote 20 for *Ibid*. read : See this Volume.

FOREWORD

Personal Expression.

As commonly understood, *Foreword* is synonymous with *Introduction.* It is usually written by an authority other than the author, who introduces the author, outlines his monograph and expresses his appreciation. I need no introduction and no appreciation. I know that no one is more competent than the author himself to explain his point of view and to expose his own errors and omissions. This is a solo effort and as such it has its merits as well as de merits. As used in this particular case, the term *Foreword* is a substitute for the time-honoured term *Preface* which I have discarded because it attracts very few readers and has a very limited appeal, if at all. I am writing in it what I would have written in the *Preface*, except *Acknowledgements* and *Transliteration* which have found a separate place. I have incorporated in it what, but for the additions made in the monograph during the two years it has remained in the press, ought to have found place in the *Introduction.* Here I am free to express my feelings and to lay out the contents of my heart, to refer to my experience and to record my reactions connected with the planning and preparation of the present work, including the topic and the title, the theme and its threads, the spirit and the substance. Here I will answer such questions as : Why have I undertaken this work in the presence of writers, scholars and historians far wiser and far more qualified than I? Is there a real need for such a work? How have I probed the problems and presented the picture ?

Topic and Title.

If history is defined as all that has happened, the contents of this work will betray an utter ignorance of the subject, and as histories of this type have been written and are being written everywhere, there is little justification for voyaging upon such a venture by an individual writer, however competent. What is intended to trace in this work is the history of history as a branch of *belles lettres*, an independent discipline, a science, a philosophy and an art with due regard to its scope and importance. The title—*History of History*—is not new or novel in an age when scholars have started writing on such subjects as the science of science, the philosophy of philosophy, the religion of religion and the art of art. I am not unaware of Professor Thompson Shotwell's *Introductian to the History of History* and Professor Perry's Chapter on *History of*

History in his *Realms of Value.* Even as an *Introduction* to the subject, of which the frontiers have so widely extended, the first is too sketchy to survey the whole area and too superficial to satisfy superior scholarship.[1] The second is but a chapter in a volume dealing with a variety of subjects and it would be unfair to expect more than what it contains. As far as they go, both of them are good, but they do not go far enough.[2] The need for a fuller work was as acute and urgent as the demand. The sub-title —What is History—, which is virtually an introduction to the whole work or the volumes that will follow, is an indication of the immensity of the area covered and the variety of the matter dealt with.

Immensity and Imperfection.

Viewing History in the widest sense of the word and cosidering that 'its range is as boundless as its matter is various',[3] it is not difficult to imagine how stupendous the task involved by the *History of History* would be. I do admit I did realise this before I actually set myself to the task. If I have undertaken it despite my glaring drawbacks, it is because no one else has ventured to come forward and because I feel, as also Tai Tung did: 'Were I to await perfection, my work would never be finished."[4] In view of the immensity of the task, any other aspirant would have also entertained the same apprehension and the same feeling of incompetence; and as no one could reach the ideal or attain the high standard required for the purpose, the task would have remained not only unaccomplished but unattempted. I have taken the bold step of attempting it and if I do not accomplish it, others will certainly do in the near or distant future a great deal more than I have done. Looking around and taking stock of the situation, I see I have added something, however humble, to the historical literature and filled up a gap, however inadequately, in a field so vast and varied. But for this feeling, I would not have been so rash as to rush upon such a risky venture.

Difficulties and Dangers.

I am fully aware of the difficulties and dangers that beset the task of truth-telling. Even the prophets had to pay a heavy price for that. There is ample force in what Peiter Geyl has stated: 'Almost every established power, every State, and every church, every party, group and dynasty has always regarded with suspi-

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1. See pp. 109-10 of this Volume. 2. *Ibid.*; Perry : *Realms, of Value*, pp, 380, ff. 3. Maunder : *The Treasury of History*, p. 1. 4. Durant : *The Story of Civilization*, Part I, *Our Oriental Heritage, Introduction.*

cion the true historian approaching its past with fearless criticism.'[5] Even now we are familiar with the view that the writer of real history would be murdered or put behind the bars, although there are spirited souls that discredit this view and the accompanying fears with a faith not without force. The true historian must do his duty. His risks are now far fewer than ever before. He can do greater justice to his subject in this age of enlightenment, reason and science, and all others must be prepared to face facts, follow the fundamentals of truth and realise the rule of reality without fear or favour, court criticism with a clear conscience and concede to what is correct and refute what is wrong. For, as long as this is not done, the world will remain in the vicious circle without any way out.[6]

Counteractants: Wisdom and Valour.

An ideal historian must be adequately endowed with wisdom and valour to overcome the difficulties and dangers with which he is confronted.[7] Experience has established the fact that persons with daring have done a great deal more than those gifted with wisdom alone; that wisdom without valour (like valour without wisdom) has tended to hinder rather than help a cause involving difficulties and dangers; and that at times valour has succeeded where wisdom has failed. I can aptly illustrate this with an example from my own experience. On the occasion of the 17th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Baroda, the historians hailing from all over India were taken to the State Stable of Elephants to see what looked like moving mountains. The Keeper took them to an elephant of exceptional size and said that one who would go near would be saluted and garlanded by it. All stood silent and spell-bound; they took the fact for granted without verification. The youngest of them, I stepped forward and went straight to the elephant to the surprise of all others present there. As I approached the elephant, it bent down its knees and made a bow by putting its forehead on the ground, and then, raising its head and, taking with its trunk a garland from the wall where it was hanging, put it round my neck. The spirit (inborn and not acquired) was warmly appreciated. What I wish to illustrate here is that it is not possible to ascertain the truth without being inquisitive; that the historian's task—truth-telling—is full of risk and that apart from being inquisitive, he must not be afraid of the risk involved. I took up my

5. Geyl : *Use and Abuse of History.*
6. See pp. 11. ff , 87, ff., 391 of this Volume.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 345, 394-95, 494 ff.

pen to write history of Muslim Rule in India about thirty years ago when, under foreign domination, it was not safe to state facts without fear. Since then I have continued my efforts while working in various capacities not connected with history. Side by side with my studies I have always felt the need for the preservation of all evidence and its interrelation. The result is the *Progressive Plan*, which is referred to here and dealt with in detail in its proper place.[8] Equally great was the need for the *History of History* in order to know what we have done so far, where we stand and what we have to do in future. I raised my voice here and there in the universities, colleges and conferences to meet this need, to reclaim and re-evaluate all available evidence and to re-write history in the right sense of the word. Finding a favourable response almost everywhere, I took up my pen again and the result is the synopsis of the work in hand. It is the outcome of the same spirit of inquiry and investigation, scrutiny and verification of facts with which the reader of the Holy Quran is invariably imbued.[9]

Call of Conscience.

I have written this work in response to the call of conscience without intending to offend or unduly defend any individual or institution. I know many of my readers will not agree with me on several points. They have a right to do so. My request to them is to extend the same right to me—that of differing with them on the same points, for the same reasons and in the same spirit. I welcome constructive criticism not in the spirit of *Munazira* or contest for the sake of success by hook or crook but in the spirit of healthy competition for the sake of improvement. Generally, I have confined my work to a mere statement of facts or their summary and abstained from passing judgment. Where I have expressed my opinion, I have done so in the same spirit. For, to me history is not only all that man has accomplished but also all that he has destroyed and devastated. While brighter aspects of history are rightly emphasised and admired, its dark aspects cannot justifiably be omitted or ignored, exonerated or excused. We must look upon the former as the fruits and the latter as the lessons of history.[10]

Lectures on Archives.

Another important factor which encouraged and even accelerated the implementation of the project at the preliminary stage was the appreciation of my lectures on Historiography with special

8. Jaffar: *Classification of Records—Pakistani System—Progressive Plan*, 9. See pp. 283, ff., 324, ff. of this Volume.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

reference to Archives at the University of the Punjab.[11] Attended by M. A. students, research scholars and professors, these lectures aroused considerable interest and I thought it proper to place before the audience the results of my studies and the fruits of my experience, both lifelong. In compliance with the wishes of all interested in the subject, I have developed the theme and its threads and decided to place them before the public in parts or volumes. The part presented here is the first of the series. It will be followed by others in due course provided I am allowed a lease of life long enough to complete the whole work—*History of History*.

Special Features.

While the reader will find lot of useful information in the ensuing account, I think it necessary to account for the stress laid on some of the special features repeatedly referred to in the body of the book—Role of Religion and History, Relation between Religion and History, Religion and Science, Divinity, Divine Plan, Theory of Concept, Islamic Concept based on Quranic Ideology, Meaning of Culture, Pakistani System of Classification—*Progressive Plan*—for the lay-out of all evidence and the maintenance of its interrelation.

Role of Religion and History.

I subscribe to the axiom that behind the book or the facts on record is a force that makes the facts speak—the writer—whose personality can be traced throughout the work—Subjectivity.[12] I have assigned *religion* a high place in *history*. This is mainly because I am a Muslim. My faith is founded on a comparative study of world religions. For my own satisfaction I have set up a *Standard of Superiority* in simplicity and spirituality, completion and comprehensiveness, fullness and finality, practicality and practicability, actuality and authenticity; judged the Guidance and the Guides or the Message and the Messengers thereby; and come to the conclusion in favour of Islam : Allah and Muhammad or the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*. I am convinced of the Creator because I cannot think of the Creation without Him. I believe in His Unity (*Tauhid*) because plurality would have led to differences and disagreement which would have put all harmony and order to an end. I know that justice is the keynote of religion in the same way as 'religion is the keynote of all progress.'

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11. These lectures (15 in all) were delivered in 1958 at the request of the Head of the Department of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore, in two instalments.

12. See pp. 95-96 of this Volume and the writer's lecture on *Main kiyun Musalman hun ? (Why am I a Muslim ?)*.

I say I believe in the Divine Message and the Messengers (Guidance and Guides) because they form part of the Divine Plan, without which there would have been nothing but chaos. I am sure I shall cease to be Muslim if I do not believe in the sinlessness of the Messengers, who came as models for mankind, and in the truth of their Missions. I believe in Christ, Moses, and other Prophets in the same way as I do in the last of the line—Hazrat Muhammad. I believe in the finality of the Message and the Messenger because that is the logical culmination of growth or evolution beyond which there can be no addition or improvement. I believe in the continuity of the Message and the office of *Imamat* (leadership) to interpret it and apply it to the changing conditions, without accepting any rival claim, and occasioning disagreement. I have embodied in this work the results of my researches and I wish others to share them, should they so desire.[13] If I have attempted to make comparisons, it is because they are the logical outcome of a comparative study of religions. I have done so with the greatest care and with a view to bringing out the best without doing injustice. If I have failed, it is not due to any deliberate delinquency on my part. My faith in the Unity of Mankind and hence in the Unity of History is based on my belief in the Unity of Faith, the Unity of State and the Unity of Culture, propounded by Islam and preached by the Prophets from Adam onwards. I have laid special stress on the Role of Religion and the Role of History because I am sure that History and Religion will walk hand in hand and work together for eliminating error and evil from the vicious world and that Truth will ultimately triumph. Professor Toynbee has also dealt with the same subject. In the Section on *The Quest for a Meaning behind the facts of History* at the end of his work, he writes:

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13. My belief in the institution of *Imamat* is based on the following authorities of the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*:

On the day when We shall summon all peoples with their Imams ...." *Al-Quran*, xvii : 71.

"One who dies without the *Ma'rifat* (close knowledge) of the Imam of his day dies the death of *Jahiliyah* (Ignorance or Godlessness)."—*Muhammad.*

In a letter to Akbar Allahabadi, Allama Iqbal has expressed the same idea in these words :

"You have written so well about the Shias. I have held this view for a long time. The institution of *Imamat* is a safeguard against social disintegration, especially in an age when religious realities are judged by reason." *Iqbalnamah*, Part ii, p. 44.

"The meaning behind the facts of History towards which the poetry in the facts is leading us is a revelation of God and a hope of communion with Him."[14] This shows that Professor Toynbee's vast erudition has given him good guidance, but he has failed to reach the right conclusion about the correct concept of God and His Message. I have dealt with this question at several places in general and in two Chapters (VIII and XI) in particular and come to concrete conclusions. My interest in Religon and History has enabled me to trace the fundamentals of historical criticism and research in the Holy Quran and build up Islamic concept of History based on Islamic Ideology.

Science and Religion.

I agree with Dr. W. U. Ault that there is 'concord between science and faith' and add that the latter must be founded on facts and philosophy. I also agree with Earl Chester Rex when he says: "But, although science has its limitations, its theories and conclusions have proved of inestimable value also with respect to the universe and the God of the universe. A fair and impartial study of scientific phenomena has convinced me that God exists and that He controls and directs the universe. There is 'Central Control' and the Controlling Power is God."[15] My own conclusion is that with all its strides and successes, science cannot equal the Divine Plan in precision and perfection, and that it will, all the same, solve some of the serious problems with which the world is confronted, so that it will be most 'scientific' and 'intellectually respectable' to believe in God and seek His blessings.

Divinity: Allah and God.

While Divinity, Divine Plan, Divine Message and Divine Messengers have rightly claimed our attention, the uniform use of the words *Allah* and *God* as synonyms is most lamentable. Whereas *Allah* in Islam stands for indivisible divinity (*Tauhid*), the word *God* in the Christian world stands for the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost (Trinity). Therefore, the use of the two words as synonyms is bound to misrepresent *Tauhid*, the first and foremost fundamental of Islam and mislead many in the West. With profuse apologies, I correct the mistake here and recommend that throughout this volume and elsewhere (e.g. English Translations

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14. Toynbee: *A Study of History*, Vol. x, p, 126; Cowell: *Culture in Public and Private Life*, pp. 59, ff.

15. See *The Evidence of God in an Expanding Universe*, pp. 180-81. Also see pp. 420, ff. of this Volume.

of the Holy Quran) the word *God*, when used in the context of Islamic Ideology, must be taken to mean *Allah* as defined and described in the Holy *Quran* and the *Hadis*. The name *Allah*, reserved for the one Creator, Controller and Director of the universe and employed to signify absolute oneness or *Tauhid*, ought to be standardised and used as such in all languages and the use of the word *God* (implying Trinity) as its equivalent ought to cease forthwith.[16]

Increasing interest in Islam.

The world-interest in Islam evinced in the form of international colloquiums, increasing output of leading intellectuals of the world in general and the West in particular, etc., for one reason or the other, is noted, the terms and techniques employed are examined and the trends and tendencies calling for caution and careful consideration have been pointed out with the object of putting the reader on guard against errors of omission and commission in the books being written by non-Muslims on Islam and Islamic Culture and given wide publicity. The *World Bible*, edited by Robert O. Ballou, may be cited as a striking specimen of the standard of such books. It is proclaimed as "A comprehensive selection from the eight great sacred scriptures of the world — Hindu, Buddhist, Confucianist, Judeo-Christian (Old and New Testaments), Taoist, Zoroastrian, Mohammadan." In it we come across such statements about Islam and its Apostle under the caption *The Moslem* as:

"Embittered by open criticism and lack of public support, his preaching became more personal and was filled with imprecations. His 'revelations' now began to threaten infidels and those who did not believe in him as the prophet of God with the vengeance of Allah. The importance of moral behaviour was submerged by the importance of believing in Mohammad and the Allah whom he proclaimed. Going further, he attacked the worship of the old tribal gods and incurred the anger of powerful Meccans."[17]

"In an attempt to heal the breach with his fellow Meccans, Mohammed now modified his preaching somewhat. On one occasion he even renounced his emphasis upon monotheism and

16. The difference between *Allah* and *God*, as pointed out above, struck to me when half of the book had appeared in print. Hence the clarification in the *Foreword* at the beginning of the book.

17. Ballou : *World Bible*, p. 442.

delivered a 'revelation' in which appeared a doctrine giving slight recognition to some of the tribal gods and goddesses of the Arabs. Surprised and delighted, those of his audience who were not Hanifs smiled and nodded in approval, and when at the end of the discourse the Prophet called upon all his listeners to bow down to Allah, the outsiders courteously and graciously bowed with the rest. Obviously in this one session Mohammad had gone far towards overcoming Meccan enmity. But that night in a vision he saw the Angel Gabriel who charged him with having spoken words which came not from God but from the Devil. In remorse Mohammad recalled his words, revising them so that the tribal gods were discredited, and his persecution began afresh and with greater fury than ever.[18]

"Mohammad's indoctrination was thorough in respect to the duty of spreading the religion of Islam throughout the world. Converts were to be made peacefully if possible, but by means of the sword if necessary."[19]

"After his death a succession of Caliphs, or successors to the Prophet, carried on the work of law-giving and bloody proselytizing with amazing speed."[20]

Quoting Robert Ernest Hume, the author of *The World's Living Religions* and listing 'six beliefs and five duties of the good Moslem,' the writer includes Alexander the Great in the list of the prophets, 'of whom twenty-eight are named in the Koran'[21] and states:

'The five duties to repeat every day in Arabic are: 'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammad is His prophet:' to pray at least three times a day, at day-break, at noon, and at night, with the face turned towards Mecca; to give alms; to fast during the month of Ramadan; and to make at least one pilgrimage to Mecca during a lifetime."[22]

Enough! No detailed criticism of these quotations seems to be necessary. A few remarks will do. The above-quoted passages are not selected from the sacred scripture of Islam—the Holy Quran—, as stated at the outset. The *Masnavi* of Maulana-i-Rum, with all its merits, is not one of the eight great sacred scriptures of the world' and yet the passages quoted from it do give that impression. The first four statements which

18. *Ibid.* y. 443. 19. *Ibid.*, p. 445.
20. *Ibid.* 21. *Ibid.*, p. 447. 22. *Ibid.*

have sprung from the heart of the writer, betray his animosity against Islam. The inclusion of Alexander the Great in the list of prophets is lamentable and its attribution to the Holy Quran more so. As a rule , the obligatory prayers are five, but in certain exceptional circumstances the noon and afternoon prayers, so also the evening and night prayers can be combined and the times (not number) reduced to three, but in no case the number of daily obligatory prayers can exceed five. The words 'to pray at least three times a day' imply that the number of such prayers can be increased at will, which is in contravention of the Quranic injunctions. The exclusion of *Jihad* from 'the five duties' and the inclusion of the formula 'There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet,' which forms part of the *Azan* or call for prayer, as a substitute to make up the deficiency is, to say the least, inexcusable. Again, it is the *Ka'bah* and not Mecca towards which the Muslims turn their faces at the time of praying. Finally, pilgrimage to Mecca is obligatory when one is in a position to undertake it, and one who has the means but is otherwise unable to undertake it can have it performed by proxy at his or her cost. What is true of *Religion* is equally true of *History* so far as mis-statements are concerned.

Theory of Concept.

This is the latest—though it may not be the last—addition to the long list of concepts of history or the ways of thinking or expressing opinions about history and the forces influencing historical phenomena. It aims to bring into broad relief the predominant part played by important concepts of history in making an estimate of the character and qualities of individuals and institutions, good and bad, and assessing the influence of various factors and forces on the development of historical phenomena. It has acted as a determining factor and exercised a decisive influence in the evaluation of evidence and the determination of facts, categorising some as *good* and some as *bad* and declaring virtue as vice and *vice versa*. It is at the root of religion and history and has immensely influenced the course of history and enriched the history of ideology.[23] Like so many other views which have been worked into theories, the view about *concept* had yet to be termed and treated as a theory. This, it is claimed, is done here for the first time. It is one of the special features of this work, which the reader will not miss amidst so many other concepts of history.

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23. See pp. 10, ff. 508-9 of this Volume.

Islamic Concept.

The importance attached to the Islamic Concept of History and Religion, based on the Islamic ideology enshrined in the Holy *Quran* and the *Sunnah*, is another special feature of this work which calls for careful consideration and comments. The thesis maintained here is that the Quranic Ideology or Concept has moved with the march of time and kept pace with the progress of humanity and will do so in future; that it has met the requirements of mankind at all times, in all climes and at all levels; that it has outdistanced all other ideologies or concepts, including the Greek Thought; and that those who plead that Islam should be *modernised* and made to compromise with the milieu are invited to see if the Holy *Quran* is found wanting in any respect and if it has failed to confirm its own claim to be the source of studies and spring of sciences.[24] Islam aims at the unity of faith, the unity of state and the unity of culture. According to the *Quran*, the Musalmans all over the world form one nation called *Ummat*.

Muslims as one Nation: Pakistan.

Closely connected with the Islamic Concept is the Two-Nation Theory which found its full expression in the establishment of Pakistan in this Sub-Continent under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It may be pointed out here that despite the earnest endeavours of the diehard advocates of Hindu-Muslim Unity or One-Nation Theory, headed by the Imperial Patron, Akbar, the truth could not be suppressed. The reaction that set in soon after him—even during his own days—gathered momentum under Shah Jahan and reached its logical limit under Aurangzeb who made no secret of the fact that the Hindus were Hindus and the Muslims were Muslims—that is to say, two separate nations with two separate ideologies. The establishment of Pakistan and all it stands for has dealt a death-blow to the One-Nation Theory in India and exposed the impossibility of the ill-conceived and ill-founded compromise between Hinduism and Islam. It also bears eloquent testimony to the role which religion has to play in the history of humanity. According to Mian Muhammad Shafi, 'it is a direct challenge to the Western historical presumption that territorial-racial nationalism and the secular State are the higher stages of sociological evolution. The subsequent formation of the two World Blocks and the tendency of smaller national states merging into larger ideological alliances confirmed this international trend'.[25] After

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24. *Ibid*, pp. 283, ff. 25. Shafi: *The Role of History* published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* dated May 10, 1961.

recording these remarks, the same scholar raises the question whether complementary to these political, ethical and sociological presumptions, Pakistan also possesses a comprehensive historical theory, which may explain the known historical facts in terms of the Islamic concepts of human destiny,' and furnishes the answer by referring to the American publication: *The Past That Lives To-day* and the parallel project launched by Ferozsons, the foremost publishing house in Pakistan, and observing as follows:

'Whereas the American book proceeds on the presumption that the present-day American society is the highest achievement of human civilization, the projected Islamic World History deals with all known facts of history in terms of the Quranic postulates that the unity of divinity, the finality of prophethood and the leadership of divine devotees have been the pivots of all human progress.'[26]

This Pakistani publication, says the same scholar, 'is perhaps the first of its kind' and he looks forward for 'the time when it will be translated into Arabic and Persian and English also.'[27] Whether the Muslim World in general or Pakistan in particular 'possesses a comprehensive historical theory which may explain the facts in terms of the Islamic concepts of human destiny,'[28] is a question which is yet to be answered and which the volume in hand generally and the chapters on Islamic Ideology and the Islamic Concept of History in particular attempt to answer.

What is Culture?

There is a good deal of controversy about *culture*, *cultural values*, *cultural interpretation of history*, etc. regardless of the gravity of "the danger of talking about culture without knowing what the word means."[29] An attempt has been made in the ensuing account to provide an aid or advice to those who venture to voyage upon the vast flood of facts about cultures which have differed with different peoples from time to time and place to place.[30] The word *culture* does imply *truth*, *beauty* and *goodness* as stated or summed up by Cowell in his tentative definition: "Culture is that which, being transmitted orally by tradition and objectively through writing and other means of expression, enhances the quality of life with meaning and value making possible the formulation,progressive realization, appreciation and achievement of truth,

26. *Ibid.* 27. *Ibid.* 28. *Ibid.* 29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*; Cowell: *Culture in Private and Public Life*, p. 81.

beauty and moral worth."[31] Dealing with and discussing the question in detail under the caption "*The Authority of Culture*," the learned author acknowledges the fact that "Despite what has already been said in this book, the insistent doubt may still remain, how anyone is to know what is really true, beautiful or morally worthy?"[32] He asks the question "who sets the standards, who is the judge of these matters, why should he be trusted?" and says: "It should be equally evident that there are no fixed eternal standards laid up as it were in heaven, in the minds of the great and the wise or locked up in libraries which it would suffice to learn in order to resolve all doubts upon the great questions how to think aright, how to make aright and how to act aright, which it is the ambition of culture to achieve. Immensely valuable although the oral and written cultural traditions undoubtedly are, to expect them to provide ready-made answers and to resolve all doubts would be the betrayal of cultural values, which like love, must be indicated afresh every day."[33] Dealing with the religious origin of culture, he says: "Where the religious element in the oral tradition is not so clearly evident it will nevertheless be found to colour imperceptibly the notions we entertain about right and wrong, their standard of truthfulness and their ideas of beauty and perfection."[34] Although culture and religion have much in common, they are not synonymous and interchangeable.[35] In fact religion—right religion—, is the source of culture—right culture—and the infallible authority is indivisible divinity—the all-creative author of the universe. The problem has been probed in passing and the infallible authority has been pointed out in the proper place.

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31. Professor Perry has taken the term *Culture* to mean 'as the anti-thesis of 'nature' – 'that which man has made of his natural environment and with his natural faculties.' According to him, it 'denotes the variety, totality and mobility of what man makes of himself and his environment.' 'Culture,' he says, is doubly embodied : in the ideas, attitudes and dispositions of men and the physical antifacts by which these are expressed and implemented'. *Realms of Value*, pp. 354, ff. In this book I have taken the term to mean *mental attitude*, of which the physical expression is civilization. See Spengler *: The Decline of the West*, Vol. i, *Introduction*; and pp. 21-24, 194-95 of this Volume.

32. See pp. 5, ff. of this Volume. 33. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-181.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 181. 35. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Cultural Interpretation of History.

"If no overtly cultural interpretation of history has been seriously attempted before our own time," we are told, "it is largely because, being without adequate and sound definition of *culture*, no body has sufficient stimulus or confidence to forge ahead."[36] The cultural interpretation of history implies that "in so far as the history of the past can be divided up into significantly different periods, ages, epics or civilizations, that division will be found to be in its essence based upon differences in cultural valuations."[37] While a cultural interpretation of history may not solve all the mysteries of the past, it is asserted that "true history cannot be written without it."[38] As increasing emphasis is now being laid on the cultural interpretation of history, the subject has claimed our attention with ample justification. "History is history" and it is "wrong to try to relate it to any preconceived basis in philosophy, culture, economics or anything else."[39]

Progressive Plan.

The picture presented or produced by the historian cannot be absolutely perfect as long as the whole of the evidence forming its foundation is not complete and correctly connected and for that reason the conclusions drawn by him cannot be correct. As the evidence which has been lost for good cannot be retrieved and that dispersed is being reclaimed, the picture produced and the conclusions drawn will be relatively (and not absolutely) perfect and correct. The *Progressive Plan* has been devised and developed to ensure a perfect picture at the source by organising current records in the offices of origin and establishing their interrelation and keeping it intact. The system has been declared as 'fundamentally sound' and 'scientific' by experts and it is hoped that if it is adopted and enforced in all offices and institutions, it will fill a long-felt lecuna and strengthen the claim of history to the precision claimed by science.[40]

Varying Evidence.

The evidence that has survived in one form or the other varies with the variety of historical phenomena in volume and value. So far as the present work is concerned, the worthwhileness of appertenant observations about the material available, the limi-

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 81. 37. *Ibid.*, p. 104. 38. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 69. 40. Jaffar: *Classification of Records—Pakistani System—Progresssive Plan and Record-Keeping.*

tations of space and the over-all impression warranted by that evidence cannot be doubted. In certain cases the material was too scanty to claim more than the specified space. In other cases, it was too huge to be compressed in such a small compass, and consequently, a great deal of material had to be discarded in the course of epitomization. Thus, for instance, a number of Western historians who deserved mention do not figure in the picture and only a few out of the host of Muslim historians whose contributions to history are so well known have come under our notice. As a rule, only such historians and historical thinkers have been noticed as have expressed their views on history or the fundamentals of historical research in some form or the other, with due regard to the fact that no contribution to the main theme or thought presented here is left out of the focus. In the absence of such views in certain cases, the indirect method of drawing conclusions bearing on historical sense on the basis of authentic anthropological, archaeological and epigraphic evidence has been followed. The view expressed by some Western scholars that the ancient East was far ahead of the West in laying the foundations of the science of history will be found fully warranted by the synopsis presented here.[41]

Supplement.

Material which came to hand after the particular part to which it pertained had passed through the press and which, for that reason, could not be put in its proper place either in the main text or in the footnotes has been added in the form of Supplement in such a way as to connect the part with the relative whole and *vice versa*. As the book remained in the press for over two years and fresh material found its way into the work from time to time, it was not possible to maintain the sequence as it ought to have been, but care has been taken to connect the relevant threads in such a way as to complete the thought or the theme by means of references and cross-references in the body of the book and the footnotes. The reader is requested to keep this in mind while going through the book and drawing conclusions. Further additions in the body of the book and improvements in logical sequence and synthesis will be carried out in the light of constructive criticism, if any, in the second edition, should that be called for.

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41. W. Durant: *The Story of Civilization Volume i — Our Oriental Heritage — Introduction*, pp. i, ff. Also see pp. 29, 53, ff., 523, ff. of this Volume.

Caution !

The level of knowledge, intellect and insight being different. the methods of approach being various, and the clash of concepts and cultures being so common, it is always open to the reader or research scholar to differ with the writers in the treatment and presentation of facts, line of argument and conclusions. In such cases, regrouping of material under different heads and headings, becomes inevitable and he is advised to collect the evidence onthe subject of his special study from that adduced on different topics, under different captions and at different places and collate it in such a way as to facilitate the development of the themes or theories he finds fit to build up according to his own choice by carefully consulting the *Contents* and the *Index*. Thus, for instance, the reader or research scholar who wishes to write an over-all or self-contained essay or article on history, religion culture, civilization or any other subject dealt with in this Volume at several places under several captions will have to assemble and assimilate the relevant information by looking at the *Table of Contents* given in the beginning of the book and carefully consulting the *Index* added at the end. While doing this, he must not miss the prefatory matter—Preface or Foreword, Acknowledgements, Transliteration, Corrigenda and Supplement. The perusal of the prefatory matter and Supplement is necessary for knowing the author's point of view as well as for guarding against his errors and omissions detected and corrected in the course of printing and or at the final stage. Here the passages quoted from other works are invariably printed separately in 10 point type in order to distinguish them from the main text in 12 point type. Extracts from other works, reproduced in the main text (12 point), are invariably guarded by inverted commas. The intention behind the reproduction of passages in extenso is, as indicated in the *Introduction*, to guard the original text and to eliminate all errors of omission and commission in the qualities of accuracy and authenticity of the meaning and message contained therein. The material mapped out in the *Table of Contents* is eliminated from or epitomized in the *Index* without impairing, as far as possible, the utility of either. The reader will find a good deal of useful information on these and similar other topics in Chapter XII—*Role of History in Future*.[42]

S. M. Jaffar.

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42. This Chapter has been published separately as *Role of Research in History* for the use of those engaged in historical research for doctoral degrees.

INTRODUCTION

History of History.

No subject—religion or philosophy, art or science, culture or civilization, etc.—has found it possible to do without history, the yardstick with which we can measure the progress made by it. Hence every subject has got a history of its own and we have history of religion, history of philosophy, history of science, history of culture, history of civilization, etc. But so far history itself has had no history and historian of its own and we have not taken stock of the situation. This project is launched to fill, as far as possible, this long-felt gap by a solo effort.

Outline.

The History of History, now undertaken, shall cover a series of volumes dealing *in detail* with such topics as Foundations of History, Rise of Historical Sense in the East and the West with special reference to Islamic Ideology and Greek Thought, Relation between Religion and History, Problems and Pitfalls of History: Solutions and Safeguards, Historiography or Art of History-Writing, Fundamentals of Historical Research, Role of Religion: Past and Present, Role of History: Past and Present, etc., outlined in the present volume. It is yet too early to say anything more than this about the contents of the work contemplated but not completed. The Introduction to each volume will indicate, in each case, what it is about. The themes and theories compressed in the first volume will be taken up again and dealt with in due course in the volumes that will follow. For the present, it is hoped, what is stated as a summary will

provide food for further thought and occasions for reflecting independently and finding solutions for the problems presented by the time-honoured accretions which have got attached to genuine history.

Documentation.

The documentation is also incomplete for the simple reason that the volume in hand is nothing more than an introduction to the whole work—*History of History*. Only the works quoted in this volume are included in the Bibliography at the end. The same procedure will be followed with regard to the forthcoming volumes. The documentation will, therefore, develop with the development of the main theme. The scarcity of space occupied by certain subjects, indicating inadequate documentation, is due to the dearth of data, etc. and to no deliberate delinquency. The evidence and arguments which could not find place in the context are included in the *Introduction*, *Footnotes* and *Conclusion* to complete the picture, where possible.

Beginning of History.

Of all arts and sciences, *history* is the oldest. It is an important source of human knowledge. Tradition or spoken history is as old as speech and written word or recorded history is as old as script. The former was preserved in mind by repetition (memory) and the latter by script on substance (record). Spoken history is the older of the two categories. Except in the case of Islam, it started with myth or the deeds of deities and developed into *saga* or *epos*—the deeds of man. Both belonged to the realm of imagination and may well be included in what is called history of fiction as distinct from that of facts. Poetry is rightly regarded as a poor medium of expression for facts in that the devotion to rhyme and

metre tends to make the expression loose. Hence the accounts of bards are found to be full of distortions and exaggerations. Most of what we have so inherited in the form of epics, ballads and legends or folklore is far from history as a record of what has actually happened. True history attained maturity in prose first in the form of inscriptions (epigraphy) and then in the form of documents (diplomatic).

Meaning of History.

It is interesting to note at the outset that the words *History* and *Tarikh* are synonymous and have the same sense and scope. The word *history* is derived from the Latin word *historia* which means information, inquiry, research, etc. It is used in two senses, viz. (1) as a record or statement of facts and (2) as facts themselves.[2] Likewise, the word *Tarikh* is derived from the Arabic word *Arkh* (ارخ) and has two meanings: (1) a day or date, an era or epoch, and (2) a history, a chronicle and a book of annals.[3] In the East, where events were narrated under dates, the accounts were known as *Tarikh* and in the West, where events were described under the years in which they occurred, the accounts were known as *annals*. In either case, history meant a continuous and chronological account of events. Evidently, the sense and scope of the subject were limited in either case. The difference between history as it used to be and history as it is extends over the distance between the past and the present and will be patent when the whole is treated in its proper place.

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1. See **History** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica.**

2. **Ibid.; Colloquium on Islamic Culture,** (Princeton) pp. 32, ff. See pp. 57, ff. of this Volume.

3. See **Arkh** (ارخ) in **Al-Qamus, Al-Munjad** and **Muhit-ul-Muhit.** Also see pp. 287-88 of this Volume.

East-West Link.

The sameness of the sense in which *history* was understood in the East and the West, as stated above, does afford a clue to some sort of connection between the two streams of thought flowing independently at both ends, but this is a question to be considered at its proper place while weighing and viewing the relevant evidence in proper perspective. *Prima facie*, there was little connection between the two until the rise of Islam under the last of the Prophets. How Islam influenced the West and in what fields, forms an interesting theme, which will be outlined here and dealt with in detail under the caption *Islamic Contribution* in another volume.

Scope of Volume I.

What is History? This is a question as old as history itself or, at any rate, the awakening of historical sense. An attempt has been made here to show how it has been answered in principle and practice by those who have followed it as a separate *discipline* and not as a record of facts or what has actually happened except, however, in so far as the *discipline* itself is concerned. The subject of this Study — *What is History*? — consists of twelve chapters in addition to a Foreword, an Introduction and a Conclusion. The first chapter is devoted to the Views expressed by individuals on history at different times and in different capacities, so also to the Verdicts of Veterans and their Validity; the second and third chapters to the Meaning of History and the Development of Historical Sense in the East and the West; the fourth to History as Hallucination and Hope; the fifth to the Scope of History in time and space, subjects and contents, nature and influence—whether History is Narrative, Philosophy, Science or Art and what is its connection with other arts and sciences, religions and philosophies; the sixth

to the Importance of History with reference to its component parts; the seventh to the Modern Concepts of History; the eighth to the Role of Religion in the Past; the ninth to the guidance we get on History from Islamic Ideology based on the *Holy Quran* and the *Hadis*; the tenth to the Islamic Concept of History based on Islamic Ideology; the eleventh to the Role of Religion in Future; and the twelfth to the Role of History in Future and the Twofold Duty we have to discharge for raising History on sound foundations.

Treatment.

As far as possible, the Views and Verdicts on History are stated in the words of the authors concerned in order to eliminate all element of doubt about their intentions as well as about the authenticity and the import of their statements. Where exigencies of space have prohibited this, the position is summed up or summarised in the words of the authors without impairing the sense and significance of the text. The Development of Historical Sense in the East being independent of Historical Sense in the West, the two are treated separately in two separate chapters. Full two chapters are allotted to the Role of Religion for the simple reason that its relation with history has remained obscure. The Greek Historical Thought has claimed major share of the chapter devoted to the Development of Historical Sense in the West because: (1) it has exercised a far-reaching influence and left a lasting impression on human head and heart, and (2) it has evoked far greater interest and admiration than any other thought in the West. Likewise, the Islamic Ideology bearing on history and the Islamic Concept of History based thereon are discussed separately in two chapters towards the end for the following reasons: (1) Islamic Ideology on History has received no attention and hence no recognition whatsoever. (2)

Islamic Contribution to History is so vast and wonderful that it surpasses all other contributions severally as well as collectively and therefore it deserves a separate place and an independent treatment. (3) There is no religion other than Islam of which the Sacred Scripture has come down to us intact in its original form and there is no Founder of Faith other than Muhammad whose whole life and work can stand the acid test of authenticity.[4] (4) According to the concept of history based on Islamic Ideology, history is founded on truth, whereas according to all other concepts, history has grown out of the tail of mythology.[5] (5) It is imperative to examine the claim that the Holy Quran is the source of all knowledge and the spring of all sciences[6] or that, at any rate, it has covered the principal features of all progressive theories and thoughts and carried History to the highest pitch ever attained by any subject other than Religion. (6) It is also necessary to investigate the claim that the Quran stands unrivalled as a model of Narrative, Science, Philosophy and Art; and that only those firmly grounded in knowledge and endowed with vision[7] can correctly interpret and apply it to the complicated problems of life. (7) Islamic Contribution, so stated, means religious contribution. The Creator being One, there could be no plurality in religion.[8] Therefore, there has been one and only one religion in the

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4. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi: **Khutbat-i-Madras**.

5. Toynbee: **A Study of History**, p. 44; Spengler: **The Decline of the West**, Vol. I, p. 10.

6. The claim is based on **Al-Quran**, vi: 59, xv: 89.

7. **Ibid.**, xvi: 43, xxi: 7. For poetic or prophetic vision, see Toynbee's **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 124-26, 129; Jaffar's **Muqam-i-Nabuwat** and **Hamid's Ibn-Maskawaih**.

8. Locke quoted by Toynbee in **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, p. 189.

right sense of the word since the dawn of humanity—Islam, which means peace and submission to the Will Allah or Absolute Reality and which represents all revealed religions.[9] (8) Finally, it will be interesting to know what guidance we can get from the Holy Quran on History and on the hazards with which humanity is confronted. It may also be added here that Islamic Ideology on history is purposely dwelt upon *after* dealing with the contributions of all important schools of thought because it is only *now* that we have found the fundamentals of historical criticism in the Holy Quran and traced in it the source of inspiration of Muslim historians like Albiruni and Ibn Khaldun whose works have influenced progressive thought in the East as well as in the West. Before dealing with *Islamic Contribution* here and in its proper place, it seems necessary to say a few words about the Role of Religion and History in influencing human actions.

Religion and History.

There is a close connection between History and Religion. The two are interrelated and interdependent. The influence of one over the other is as evident as it is inevitable. Both of them aim at truth and both of them have, therefore, suffered heavily at the hands of the *Homo Sapiens*. Both of them have worked havoc when thrown out of gear or off the track. Both of them can save and help humanity if rightly followed. Religion leads to History and History leads to Religion. The former provides the principles of truth, justice and honesty, which form the foundations of history and the latter (History) leads humanity along the path of peace and progress—Religion—Absolute Reality. The approach to religion in the two chapters devoted to the Role of Religion

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9. **Al-Quran,** ii: 103, 285, iii: 136, xli: 43.

should be carefully studied and the difference be noted and kept in mind. As knowledge or part of knowledge, history is a passive power which can be used both ways—good and bad. But it must be remembered that it ceases to be history if it is distorted and abused. Employed as an instrument of propaganda by selfish persons and parties for self-aggrandisement, it has done incalculable harm and if it is used as a faithful record of the past experience of mankind for guidance in good faith, it can do greater good.[10] Religion is a spiritual force, far greater than history. It aims at what history does, but goes further than that by associating itself with Absolute Truth. Both are means to an end. Both have been misunderstood and misconstrued, misrepresented and misused, with the result that people generally began to feel disgusted with both of them and tried to get rid of them both. Barring out a few cases as exceptions, the entire East presented a scene of confusion created by the multiplication of gods followed by Nature-worship, Animal-worship Man-worship, Woman-worship, etc.[11] In the West God "was deposed towards the close of the seventeenth century" and "the vacant seat" was occupied by the "goddess" of Technology, "the deified parochial community" and "the deified oecumenical empire."[12] In other words, one form of Trinity was replaced by another. The situation has since become worse and the Wave of Westernization, which has overtaken the world, shows no signs of

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10. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** pp. 169-70; Jaffar: **The Mughal Empire,** pp. vii, ff.

11. This is too evident from the History of the East to need specific proof. See pp. 263, ff. of this Volume.

12. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** pp. 208, ff. Also see pp. 99, ff., 275, ff. of this Volume.

retreat. The ghost of atomic energy is hovering overhead and is held back by the fear of total annihilation.[13] History is the last post of humanity's hope. It can save the situation by showing the right path, revealing the real religion and restoring the reign of right. But the condition precedent is that history must be made what history ought to be—a faithful record of human experience as a whole. In other words, we have to rewrite the history of the past in the right sense of the word and we have to preserve for posterity all the evidence that is available for the history of the *present* which will be *past* for future generations, so that the historian of tomorrow should not encounter the obstacles confronting us to-day. The means and methods of accomplishing this twofold task are suggested, the inherent qualities and the acquired qualifications of the historians are pointed out and the need for a conscientious and co-operative effort is emphasized.

Islamic Contribution.

One of the greatest contributions which Islam has made to the cause of history is that it has pushed the frontiers of history to the farthest limits, encompassing the past, the present and the future, and has laid the utmost emphasis on the vision, correspondingly expanding, far-reaching and penetrating into the depth of human nature There are three distinct categories of this vision: (1) the Divine Vision, (2) the Prophetic Vision and (3) the Human Vision. The first is absolutely perfect and the other two are relatively perfect in their own respective spheres. The last can attain perfection in its own sphere by effort and education according to its own inherent qualities or genius, but cannot go beyond. The Prophetic Vision starts where the Human Vision ends.

13. *Ibid.* pp. 33, 43, ff., 21 5-16, 240, 249.

It serves as a model for mankind, soars high, but not above the limit reserved for it. Beyond is the Divine Vision which cannot be defined but of which an idea can be had and of which the presence is proven by the evidence at large.[14]

Role of Islam.

In this age of physical unification we are looking for a universal state, a universal religion and a universal brotherhood. It is time, therefore, to place before the world what guidance Islam has to offer on these important subjects. Islam has stimulated independent and impartial inquiry by eliminating the use of force in religion[15] and supplied all fundamentals of historical research relating to the original text, the proper use and verification of evidence, the appeal to accumulated experience and the interpretation of historical facts. The justification for devoting extra space to Islamic Contribution becomes greater when we are told that we cannot do without God and that religion has come to stay. Professor Toynbee has dealt with the subject in a thought provoking volume and expressed the same view.[16] Professors of other religions will do well to do the same and place before the world what their religions have to offer to the historian to solve the problems of the world on the basis of authentic data.

Close.

The position is summed up at the end by laying emphasis on the recovery of the past and the preservation of the present and the account is closed with a word of warning: If we are serious and sincere, we must start with self-reform and stop mental-lying —the mother of all mischief.

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14. Jaffar: *Muqam-i-Nabuwat*; Hamid: *Ibn Maskawaih.*

15. *Al-Quran*, ii: 256.

16. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 202, 249; *A History of Philosophy*, Vol. ii, p. 390.

Chapter I

VIEWS AND VERDICTS

THEIR VALIDITY

Introductory.

The *Views* and *Verdicts* on History, emanating from various sources, are as varied as the subject is vast. They are collected from various sources and treated together for the first time. Their validity is weighed and valued without mental reservations. It is necessary to do this in order to diagnose the disease and to apply the remedy.

Wild Goose-Chase.

It is stated that a scholar was engaged in writing history in his house when some servants quarrelled and created a row, resulting in some serious casualties. He stepped out of his room and made enquiries. Having failed to find facts of the incident, which had occurred in his own house, he lost all hope of ascertaining the truth of the matters relating to the remote past and gave up his profession.[1] While one can rightly object to his losing hope, for 'history teaches us to hope', one cannot help admiring his honesty in that he abstained from mis-stating facts and hazarding unwarranted conclusions.

"Child's Box of Letters."

Speaking on *The Science of History*, an eminent English historian, James Anthony Froude, observed:

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1. I believe it was Schopenhauer who turned his back upon history in despair. See Spengler: **The Decline of the West, Vol. i,** p. 29.

I fear it is a dry subject; and there seems, indeed, something incongruous in the very connection of such words as Science and History. It is as if we were to talk of the colour of sound, or the longitude of the rule-of-three. Where it is so difficult to make out the truth on the commonest fact in matters passing under our very eyes, how can we talk of a science in things long past, which come to us only through books? It often seems to me as if History was like a child's box of letters, with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like and say nothing about those which do not suit our purpose".[2]

Store-house.

By some history is regarded as a huge mass of material and historian as a mason who picks up and makes use of the material which suits his purpose in the construction of an edifice according to a blueprint, prepared in advance, and discards the rest as useless.[3]

'Trash'.

Dealing with the subjects of *History* and *Hadith* and speaking contemptuously of the former, a modern writer has stated that "some ignorant people regard *Hadith* as inferior *even* to history". Taking history for *trash*, and stressing the importance of his own subject, the moralist of a different type advised an apprentice: "Take care 0 young man! — it is not history!"[4]

"Dangerous Compound".

Some critics have regarded history as "unprofitable and unsound" and as "a mausoleum of dead issues", while others have declared it "pernicious"

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2. Froude: Lecture on History as a Science:
3. Badr-i-Alam: Tarjuman-ul-Sunnah, Vol. i, p. 193.
4. Ibid; Marc Bloch: The Historian's Craft, p. 11.

and stated that it is "the most dangerous compound yet contrived by the chemistry of intellect."[5]

"Invention."

Referring to the process of *invention of history* of the pre-Hannibalian period, which continued down to the reign of Caeser, the assimilation of the names of Roman Kings from the names of the members of some of the plebian families and the prompt provision of *early history* soon after the grant of 'freedom and statehood' to the Messenians and the Arcadians by Epaminondas, Splengler observes:

'Forgery.'

But the astounding thing is not that history of this sort was produced, but that there was practically none of any sort; and the opposition between the classical and the modern outlook is sufficiently illustrated by saying that Roman history before 250 B. C., as known in Caeser's time was substantially a *forgery* and that the little that we know has been established by ourselves and was entirely unknown to the later Romans. In what sense the Classical World understood the word "history" we can see from the fact that the Alexandrine romance literature exercised the strongest influence upon serious political and religious history, even as regards its matter. It never entered the classical head to draw any distinction of principle between history as a story and history as documents."[6]

Popular Opinion.

Popular opinion about history and historians was expressed in a variety show where one of the participating historians pointed out some historical errors and inaccuracies in stage-setting and costume of actors and a non-historian who was sitting by retorted that

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5. **Ibid.,** Burns: **Political Ideals,** p. 12.
6. Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i, p. 11.

they were less serious than those committed by historians. The remark was more than a mere joke and had ample force in it. It has been repeated by many others in different words.[7]

'Bunk'.

Among other popular notions about history is that expressed by Henry Ford, the famous industrialist of U.S.A. who has flooded the world with Ford cars. According to him, "history is bunk." To this Dr. Sir Steven Runciman, a leading English historian who represented his country on the Interntional Colloquium on Islam held at Lahore, took a strong exception and said: "I suppose he really knew more about cars than about history."[8] It appears that Sir Runciman had in view history as it is in principle and not history as we have it in practice and it seems that Henry Ford had the latter type of history in view when he called it "bunk". If this is not wrong, both of them are right: one of them in principle and the other in practice: One of them condemns the mutilation, mis-statement and mis-interpretation of facts, leading to disasters and catastrophies and the other extols accurate, authentic and impartial exposition of facts, ensuring a better world. Sir Runciman's view needs no elaboration, but Henry Ford's does.

Hide and Seek.

How authors have played *hide and seek* with history is evident from their works. They have sought and made use of the evidence in support of

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7. See foot-notes 2-4.

8. Runciman's **Lecture on History.**

their themes and theses and concealed that against them. They have acted as advocates rather than as judges.[9]

Validity.

As a student, teacher and writer, I have always felt that history as it has come down to us is not history in the right sense of the word.[10] Much of it is false and far from history. It is a mixture of truths, half-truths and lies.

Evidence.

Most of the foregoing criticism is valid. Apart from other considerations such as personal prejudices and preconceived notions, political power and party affiliations, national bias and religious bigotry, temptation and intimidation, etc., which influenced the course and contents of history, most of the original evidence was lost before it could be recorded and then the evidence on which it was based was neither well-preserved nor intact, neither adequate nor accurate. Marc Bloch has stated that during a march at night he saw the signal pass down the length of a column in this manner: "Look out! Shell holes to the left." and pointed out that the last man who received it in the form "To the left" took a step in that direction and fell in.[11] Such was the fate of a signal that travelled the length of a column one night and such was the result. Imagine the fate of the evidence, oral and written, that has travelled through ages and its effects on history. It is evident, therefore, that even the most competent and conscientious historian was helpless and his account was bound to be incomplete and inaccurate.

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9. Hallam's **Constitutional History of England,** pp. 874, ff.
10. Jaffar: **Paper on Archives.**
11. Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft,** pp. 51-52.

Archives.

Archives[12] are admittedly the most indispensable instruments of administration. They are also the most authentic source of history in that they mirror the minds of their authors and contain what they actually intended to convey. But are they complete? Is their interrelation intact? No! Of the archives of the Mughal Empire—Central and Provincial—so colossal in bulk and so comprehensive in character, just a few fragments have survived.[13]

Mutilation.

My life-long association with and experience in archives have brought startling discoveries to my notice—invaluable records, woefully neglected and freely exposed to ravages of all sorts, tampered entries and trumped up evidence, glaring distortions and suppression of facts, forgeries and fabrications, removal of papers from files and serious gaps, contrary conclusions and contradictory decisions, obtained by producing certain papers and withholding others or by maintaining two files on one and the same subject with the use of synonyms. What is done deliberately by a seasoned but unscrupulous official can be done inadvertently or unknowingly by another on account of ignorance—lack of knowledge, both general and technical—and in the absence of a scientific system of classification. The result is the same in either case — mis-government and mal-administration, distortion of facts and falsification of history.[14]

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12. The word **Archives** (like its Persian equivalent **Daftar**) means records and record offices. Jaffar: **Historical Wealth of N.W.F. Province,** pp. 1, ff.

13. Jaffar: **The Archives of the Mughal Empire,** Chapter on Destruction and Dispersal.

14. Jaffar: **Paper on Archives.**

Archaeology, etc.

Archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence has fared no better. Time and tide have taken a heavy toll. Most of what has survived is still underground and is being reclaimed bit by bit. The finds—all fragments—recovered from here and there, even when carefully pieced together, cannot form the whole, but even as they are, they do give a good clue to the culture and civilization they relate to. The information derived from them as such has become a source of fluctuating speculations which could not be helped, but the history based on it must be judged accordingly. Here again, lack of general and technical knowledge has spoiled good history in many cases.[15]

Lack of Talent.

In the handling of historical evidence even serious scholars have betrayed blunders. *Farmans* and coins of Timur Shah Durrani and Shah Mahmud Durrani are confused with those of Amir Timur and Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. Ordinary *Parwanas* and *Hukmnamas* have been taken for Imperial *Farmans* and *Nishans* and thus the orders, etc. issued by ordinary officers are attributed to the Emperors and Princes. The significance of such signs as *Panjah* or palm-impression, with which Imperial *Farmans* were stamped in certain special cases, has not been appreciated; the study of seals is a subject still in its inception; and forgerers have successfully fished in the troubled waters.[16]

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15. Jaffar: **Problems and Pitfalls of History.**

16. **Ibid.** Also see Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft.** pp. 62, ff., 90, ff.

Mistranslation.

Translation of text from one language into another presents peculiar problems. It is generally easy to convey the accurate or approximately accurate meaning, but very difficult, often impossible, to transfuse the same spirit from one language into another. Certain words have specific meanings in the languages they belong to and they cannot be adequately expressed in other languages without adding explanatory notes. Thus, the Arabic word *Rab* has no equivalent in English. The word *Lord* does not convey the complete meaning, for the word *Rab* also means Protector and Cherisher. Instances of mis-translation and mis-interpretation are many, but only a few will do here. In one case, the word متورم (swollen) was read as متورام (Mattu Ram) and in another, the word سپردیدار (who holds something or someone as trust), was read as پسر دیدار and translated as 'son of Didar'. On another occasion, the gender was changed from masculine to faminine when Mr. Misbah-ud-Din was made Miss Baha ud Din. While translating a verse from Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of Self) into English an Orientalist read the word زنَے (from reed) as زنے and translated it as *a woman*.[17] A Burmese who had picked up a little bit of Urdu, met a friend from Lucknow and praised him for his polished conversation, whereupon the latter replied - یہ تو آپ کا حسن ظن ہے (That is your kind thought or that is so kind of you). The Burmese remembered these words. Going home, he consulted a dictionary and found the word حسن (beauty) translated as خوبصورتی and the word زن (wife) and not ظن (opinion or thought) translated as بیوی - جورو . Later, when a Hindustani praised him for his hospitality, he forgot the Persian idiom and said

17. **Ibid., Iqbalnamah,** Vol. i, p. 321.

یہ تو آپکی جورو کی خوبصورتی ہے - (That is the beauty of your wife). Luckily, he was not replying to a Pathan or a Punjabi Muslim.[18] There is more of history than of humour in these illustrations.

Difference of Opinion.

Mental outlook and methods of interpretation differ and lead to conflicting opinions. Judges have recorded different judgments at different stages in the same case on the basis of the same evidence. Historians have also expressed conflicting opinions in identical or even in the same cases. Annals of the judiciary will not show, but we know that real culprits have sometime escaped and innocent persons have had to suffer instead on the basis of concocted evidence or coincidence. A Sessions Judge knew for certain that the murderer was other than the one whom he had sentenced to death on the basis of the evidence produced in the case, but he could not help it. He followed the law faithfully but failed to do justice. This is an example of concoction of evidence. A butcher had just finished killing a sheep when on hearing a shriek he stepped forward with a blood-stained knife in his hand and saw the murderer bolt away with a dagger. The Police turned up and arrested the butcher on the spot, as if red-handed. His clothes were stained with blood, he had a blood-stained knife in his hand and the dead body was lying near him. He had no plea to offer in his defence. If the real murderer, who knew the position and pitied the poor man, had not confessed the crime, the annals of the Judiciary would have preserved another piece of pretence which would have passed for history. This is an instance of coincidence.[19]

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18. For similar other instances see **Problems and Pitfalls.**

19. **Ibid.**, Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft,** pp. 124, ff.

Concepts.

Human nature is basically same everywhere and moral laws and ethical values are fundamentally universal. But concepts and cultures do differ in different cases : Wine, regarded as lawful by some is considered as unlawful by others. Gambling is allowed by some but banned by others. It is an offence for some but an innocent pastime for others. Conquest is regarded as robbery by some and an achievement by others. What was described as a rebellion or revolt by one people was regarded as a war of liberation or fight for freedom by the other. *Sati* or self-immolation, valued as a virtue of womanhood by the Hindus, was tabooed as a vice by the Muslims and the British. Idols were worshipped by some and broken by others. Obscene figures and scenes, sculptured on the walls of temples, form part of religion with some but display utter immorality and indecency according to others.[20] What is a brazen lie for some is an expediency for others. "Just' and 'unjust' invariably change character in changing climate. Three degrees of elevation of the Pole upsets the whole corpus of Jurisprudence; a meridian decides what is the truth......A nice kind of justice that can be confined by a river-boundary! Truth on this side of the Pyrenees, error on the other side!"[21] History is full of instances of human selfishness and vanity, sugar-coating and jugglery of words and phrases. It is also spoiled by differences of concepts and cultures, limitations of time and space, lack of technical talent and training, etc.[22]

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20. Vide infra: Culture and Civilization, pp. 21, ff.

21. Toynbee: An Historian's Approach to Religion, p. 188.

22. Jaffar: Problems and Pitfalls; Historical Research.

Culture and Civilization.

These two terms—the warp and woof of human life—are synonymous and interchangeable in common usage as well as in standard dictionaries. They are regarded as antonyms of barbarism and savagery. As such, they refer to and represent enlightenment and refinement in mode of living and manners, habits and hobbies, etc. But in the context of philosophical and scientific history, aiming at precision, their meanings are now fairly well defined and fixed. Culture means "way of life, thought and belief"[23] and civilization stands for the material or outward expression thereof. Thus, if the former stands for state of mind, the latter stands for its outward expression. The difference between culture and civilization is the same as that between soul and body, principle and practice, idea and action, ideal and attempt to attain it. Culture is the intellectual source of the civilization it gives rise to and civilization is the index of the culture it represents.

Illustration.

Culture does not stand for atomic energy and inventions, scientific devices and discoveries, furies and jets, forts and factories, forces of production and economic prosperity, palaces and pleasances, motor-cars and aeroplanes, radio-sets and television: rockets and *sputniks*, masterpieces of art and picture-galleries, ball-rooms and cinema-halls, fashions and styles, silk and nylon, etc., all of which constitute the *Civilization on Trial* — a civilization which is responsible for the *Decline of the West*,[24] mainly because it is the outward expression of Western Culture which has '*deposed*' *God* and installed the *goddess* of Technology

23. See **A History of Philosophy**, Vol. ii, p. 504 ; and S. A. Latif: **Islamic Culture Studies**.

24. One written by Toynbee and the other by Spengler.

in the *vacant seat.*[25] In the same way images of dieties and obscene figures painted on walls and sculptured on stones in temples and monasteries raised at inestimable costs, stand for a civilization of which the intellectual source or culture contemplated Image-worship and laid emphasis on Human-passion. Likewise, monasteries on the hills and dwellings in the caves, far away from cities, owed their existence to Buddhist Philosophy which aimed at *Renunciation.* Islamic Culture is dominated by faith in God. Monotheism is the corner-stone of Islam and the association of anyone or anything with Him in worship is the negation of truth. Nothing that excludes God from itself can come within the ambit of Islamic Culture. The *Holy Quran* is the embodiment of Islamic Culture and the *Sirat* of the Holy Prophet is the best specimen of Islamic Civilization. Both of them are standardized.[26] To be *Islamic* all ideas and actions must remain within the prescribed limits. There is a tendency to apply the word *Islamic* to the ideas and institutions of certain Muslims without reference to Islamic Ideology. This involves a fallacy, for not all that the followers of Islam have conceived and created need necessarily be Islamic Culture and Civilization in the strict sense of the words. At times they not only fell far short of the standard but presented ideas and institutions which were positively un-Islamic and even anti-Islamic. Thus the *Khilafat* that cut off its connection with the *Holy Quran* could not be an Islamic State. The work of such a state may be judged accordingly.[27]

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25. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion, p. 226.**

26. Jaffar : **Islam—Faith, State and Culture.**

27. Iqbal has expessed the same idea in the following verses:

چون خلافت رشته از قران گسیخت   حریت را زهر اندر کام ریخت

Iqbal: **Ramuz-i-Bekhudi.** See Al-Ghazali: **Ahya-ul-Ulum, Preface.**

Relativism.

The world is not without a Supreme Culture—that in accordance with the Supreme Will, the Plan of Providence and the Laws of Nature. It has come under the clouds of rival cultures and has to be discovered. The co-existence of rival cultures is a proof of the fact that only one of them can be superior to all others. Objective comparison can solve the problem, but no objective comparison is possible in the presence of self-centredness. In the absence of an accepted standard, "no culture is better or worse, superior or inferior to another."[28] All existing cultures, like all existing religions, have rival claims to superiority. Each of them regards itself as the best, obviously according to its own concept — i. e. in a relative sense. Since concepts differ so widely that they are diagonally opposite in certain cases, there can be no uniform culture and civilization. There is, therefore, no justification for the generalization that culture and civilization as such (i. e. in their absolute sense) do necessarily imply superiority or advanced state. It should be noted here that the expressions "cultured state" and "civilized society" are used by the writers in the relative sense according to their own concepts. For what are regarded as culture and civilization by one person or people (in common usage) are nothing short of barbarism and savagery for another. Thus Idol-worship and Idol-temples, which stand for culture and civilization at the highest level for Hindus, are barbarism and savagery for Muslims. The pre-Islamic Period of Arabia, highly praised for material progress and prosperity,[29] has been categorically condemned by the *Quran* as the Age of Ignorance (*Ayyam-il-Jahiliyah*) because of

28. **A History of Philosophy**, Vol. ii, pp. 504-5.
29. **Hitti: History of the Arabs, p. 87.**

Godlessness in one sense and multiplicity of man-made gods in the other.

Stages.

The followers of various ideologies will be found at different stages or levels of their respective cultures and civilizations owing to their respective qualities and qualifications, etc. The specific stages or levels within specific cultures and civilizations should not be separated from their parent-source and treated apart as long as they are the same in substance and structure. Likewise, a culture or a civilization should not be judged by the standard of those at the lower levels or stages.

Concept of Truth.

Concepts of Absolute Truth or Reality also differ in different cases. Thus, for instance, Islamic concept is *Impersonal God*, the Creator, the Protector, and the Cherisher,—the embodiment of Truth, Power, Awe, Wisdom, Vision, Virtue, Justice, Love, Mercy, Forgiveness, etc. The Christian Concept is Trinity — God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. The Hindu Concept is also Trinity — Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver and Shiva the Destroyer.[30] All existing religions claim to seek the *Truth* which is *One*. Then why are there so many concepts? The answer is self-evident.

Concept of History.

The concepts of history too are a subject of controversy because it too is concerned with the search for truth — a true account of what has happened and not Absolute Truth. It is regarded as Narrative by some, as Science by others, as Philosophy by still others and as Art by others still.[31] This is due to

30. See **Al-Quran, the Bible** and the **Bhagwadgita.**

31. See Chapter VII—**Modern Concepts of History.**

the difference of inherent qualities and acquired qualifications in individual cases.

Illusion.

Looking at the difference of concepts, one is reminded of the story of the blind persons who were called upon to identify an elephant that was produced before them without indicating what it was. When one of them stretched forth his hands and touched one of its ears, he exclaimed that it was a winnowing fan. Another, whose hands happened to fall on one of its legs, declared that it was a pillar. Others applied their own methods, used their own judgments and expressed their own opinions. Most of the people or, at any rate, those who have what is called *blind faith* in their religions are little different from the blind identifiers. An important question to be considered is whether the Absolute Truth or Reality and whether History as the whole of human experience can be comprehended by anyone without a clear and correct concept of what each is.

Lying.

Some types of liers and the motives for lying have already been indicated.[32] Some more types of liers may also be noted. One "tells a lie because it is in his nature and he cannot do otherwise, which proceeds from the essential meanness of his character and the depravity of his innermost being." He belongs to the class of people who "have never tasted how sweet truthfulness is, who know the truth but deliberately shun it." A representative of this class, when asked whether he had ever spoken the truth, stated in reply: "If I were not afraid to speak the truth, I should say, no."[33] Another acclaims truth and pro-

32. See **supra** pages 15, ff.

33. **Albiruni's India**, Vol. i. pp. 4-5.

fesses to be truthful, but in fact he is far from being so. He professes to believe what he does not believe. He has blind faith in his religion. When he has corrupted his mind to such an extent, he is prepared to commit any kind of crime.[34] The third type of lier is that scoundrel who has found his last refuge in religion, philanthropy or patriotism[35] to deceive the world still further. While history has suffered heavily at the hands of some of these liers, it has exposed their wickedness and preserved their accounts.

History Abused.

We have covered a long distance with Henry Ford, but not in vain. We have spotted some of the pitfalls and danger-spots and got on guard. Let us now revert to the topic—views and verdicts on history —and see what other laymen and experts have said about it according to their own lights and how it has been abused by interested persons and parties.

For Propaganda.

That history has been extensively employed as an instrument of propaganda for selfish motives cannot be denied. Sir Steven Runciman has referred to this *vice* rather mildly in these words: "All over the world, history books in the past, particularly school books, have talked too much of their country's glories and too seldom of its defeats."[36] In dealing with controversial questions and contentious matters, the so styled historians have often taken sides and exhausted their eloquence in upholding their own cause and condemning that of their opponents. It is not surprising, therefore, that historians are often accused of embittering fellow-feelings and antago-

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34. Thomas Paine: **The Age of Reason**, p. 23.

35. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion.** p 32.

36. Runciman's **Lecture on History** and Toynbee's **Greek Historical Thought**, pp. 185-87.

nizing human relations. Apparently, the statement "Happy is the land that has no history" is based on the views that "historians have sown seeds of hatred in human hearts," that "history is the most dangerous compound yet contrived by the chemistry of intellect" and that "history is bunk." What is true of the root is also true of the fruit: Those who are doing this disservice to the cause of history and humanity must know that "We learn far more from our mistakes than from our triumphs[37]" and that there is a touch of magnanimity in confessing faults and failures and coming out with truth. Mistakes multiply when defended and end when admitted. As long as history is abused, as heretofore, it cannot be dissociated from the adverse views expressed about it.[38]

Caution!

While historians who are true to their salt, admit that "History is not yet what it ought to be," and that they are trying to make it so, the critics must remember that "history is neither watch-making nor cabinet-construction," that "history is a science in travail" and that it is a science and a philosophy in which two and two do not exactly make four because it deals with 'the bewildering complexities of human nature.' They must "not make history as it ought to be the scapegoat for the sins that belong to bad history."[39]

A Poor Profession.

That history provides a very poor profession is also true. Froude, the famous English historian, would not like his son to follow his profession because

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37. Runciman's Lecture on History.

38. **Ibid.**, Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft,** pp. 12, 87, 151, 185. See also Preface to **The Mughal Empire**, pp. vii-x.

39. Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft,** pp. 12, 67, 151, 185.

of its poor pecuniary returns.[40] Al Tabri, the well-known Muslim historian, was so poor that at one time he had to sell his shirt for bread.[41] Teachers of history complain that they fail to get good hands in marriage for the same reason. This is not always true because of some brilliant exceptions: When the wife of an historian was confronted with the question "Why have you married that poor chap (historian)?, " she replied: "I have married him (historian) because I know that my value will increase as I grow old." Her argument was that marriage with an historian, who is interested more in *old* than in *new*, is an effective insurance against old age. How far she was right is obvious. How many historians have had such hands and how far they have found satisfaction in such consolation is a question that carries its answer with itself.

Exceptions.

The remark that history provided a poor profession does not apply to the court chroniclers and hired historians who wrote for the eyes and ears of their bosses and enjoyed their patronage. Written in that way, the so-called history provided a most lucrative trade, but only for the favoured few, who had found their way to the presence of their powerful patrons. Let us not forget, however, that the beggars who had bartered away their conscience for sordid considerations without feeling any qualms, have betrayed their own blunders as well as their bad bargains. They have been fully exposed by the historians who have faithfully followed their profession so that we find them and their patrons at the places where they ought to be.[42]

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40. Dr. Halim's **Presidential Address,** p. 1.
41. Ahmad: **The Glories of Islam, p.** 58.
42. Shibli: **Sirat,** Vol. i, pp. 67-68.

Chapter II

HISTORICAL SENSE IN THE EAST

Introductory.

Recent researches based on the results of archaeological excavations in the East, specially in China, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, etc. have recovered the history of their past to such an extent that we have had to revise our views radically. Referring to the backward progress of history in the countries of the East, a Western scholar has stated:

> In these countries of the ancient East we can trace the first attempts of man to chronicle for posterity his experiences and his achievements, the first beginnings of history....with the invention of printing came the desire to record, and by maintaining record offices, compiling annals, and copying king-lists, the scribes of antiquity were laying the foundations of a great science which found its first full expression in the historians of Greece and Rome.[1]

China: "Historians' Paradise."

China is rightly regarded as "the historians' paradise" because both the historians and their works have received warm appreciation there. Consequently, it should not occasion surprise if the Chinese possess historical records dating far back before the birth of Christ. It must also be noted, however, that the older the records, the more fabulous and hence more fascinating they are.[2] Dr. Robert K. Douglas says:

> "In the native histories the records of the race are traced back to a period which dwarfs into insignificance the antiquity of Egypt and Chaldea, and though their earlier pages rest on no better foundation than traditional fables, there is yet preserved a sub-

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1. **The Legacy of Egypt**, p. 18.
2. **Civilization: Past and Present,** Vol. I. pp. 110, ff.

stratum of fact on which it is safe to rest ...... One of the first leaders, Fuhsi by name, has earned eternal fame as having designed the six classes of written characters."[3]

"On the advent to power of the Emperor Yao (2083-2004 B. C.)" says the same scholar, "the purely fabulous chapters of Chinese history may be said to come to a close, and at this point Confucius takes up the pen."[4]

With a view to uprooting opposition, a later Emperor Shih Hwantgi decided to seize from hostile critics 'the evidences which they were so fond of producing' and ordered their wholesale destruction, excepting the literature on 'divination' and 'medicine.' Thanks to the stout resistance and sacrifices of the *Literate*, the decree was not carried out in its entirety." Thanks again to the patriotic spirit and patronage of Koati, the remnants of "the classics and other works" were rescued and preserved. Before the dawn of the Christian era, it is stated, the Chinese Imperial Library contained 5,123 books on classics, 2,705 on philosophy and 1,383 on poetry.[5] No mention is made of books on history. The material made available by the Buddhist pilgrims about their Master was a distinct contribution to the cause of history.

Japan.

Situated as it is close to China, Japan was bound to be influenced by the Chinese Culture and Civilization. The art of writing and printing, which has played a conspicuous part in the propagation of knowledge, entered Japan from China. Before that there were no written records.[6] The position prior to that period is thus summed up by a Western scholar:

"Oral tradition was the only agency by which a knowledge of the events of that epoch could be preserved and transmitted.

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3. **The Story of the Nations: China**, p. 4.
4. **Ibid.**, p. 5.
5. **Ibid.**, pp. 15-18.
6. **Ibid., Japan**, p .32.

That such a method of preserving history is uncertain and questionable no one can doubt. We may expect to find, therefore, in the accounts which have come down to us of those centuries which transpired before the written records were introduced, much that is contradictory and unintelligible, and much out of which the truth can be gleaned only by the most painstaking research."[7]

The oldest history of Japan that has survived so far is called *Kojiki* or Record of Ancient Matters. This historical work was undertaken at the instance of Emperor Temmu (673-86 A. C.), but left incomplete owing to his death. It was taken up and completed under the supervision and care of Empress Gemmiyo in 711 A. C. It was based on oral traditions. It was closely followed by another work of the same type called *Nihauji* or Chronicles of Japan.[8]

Egypt: "Cradle of Civilization."

Comparing India and Egypt, Spengler has said that while the Indian forgot *everything*, the Egyptian forgot *nothing*, and therefore preserved everything in which he was interested. He regards the Egyptian Culture as 'an embodiment of care'—*care* for the past presented by the history embalmed in chronological dates and figures, hieroglyph and portrait-statuettes made in many copies, perpetuating the memory of man whose dead body was made *everlasting* to serve as a lesson for mankind, and *care* for the future reflected in the 'chiselled archives' and elaborate system of administration, etc. He also observed that "the Egyptian soul, conspicuously historical in its texture and impelled with primitive passion towards the infinite, perceived past and future as its whole world, and the present (which is identical with waking consciousness) appeared to him simply as the narrow common frontier of two immeasurable stretches." Thanks to the identification of the ancient Egyptian

7. **Ibid.**, pp. 32-33. 8. **Ibid.**

writing or *hieroglyphic*, the *messages* written on the walls have been deciphered and their meaning understood. Thus, we can safely surmise that Egypt could not be without her recorded history. The Egyptian civilization which has attracted universal attention is mainly responsible for the growth of a new science or study called *Egyptology*.[9]

India: Ahistoric Soul ?

Spengler has pointed out that Indian Culture is "the perfectly ahistoric soul" on the ground that there was no pure Indian astronomy, no calendar and no history "as the track of a conscious spiritual evolution "[10] He writes:

"Of the visible course of their Culture, which as regards its organic phase came to an end with the rise of Buddhism, we know even less than we do of Classical history, rich though it must have been in great events between the 12th and 8th centuries. And this is not surprising, since it was in dream-shapes and mythological figures that both came to be fixed. It is a full millenium after Buddha, about 500 A. D , when Ceylon first produces semething resembling historical work, the "*Mahavansa*."[11]

The Indian outlook was too narrow to admit the claim of history as a universal subject. We do not come across a single instance of a specific contribution made by a specific author. Instead of an organic series of writings by specific persons, there came into being gradually a vague mass of texts into which everyone inserted what he pleased, and notions such as those of intellectual individualism, intellectual evolution, intellectual epochs played no part in the matter. It is in this anonymous form that we possess the Indian philosophy which is at the same time, all the Indian history that we have."[12]

Dealing with the same question in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Dr. J. F. Fleet has come to the following conclusion:

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9. Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. 1, pp. 12-13, 135.
10. **Ibid.**, p. 11.
11. **Ibid.**, pp. 11-12, 133.
12. **Ibid.**

"The Hindus have not bequeathed to us any historical work which can be accepted as reliable for early times. It is indeed very questionable whether the ancient Hindus ever possessd the faculty of putting together genuine history on broad and critical lines."[13]

Correct Position.

That the early inhabitants of India did possess a desire or a sense of perpetuating all that they cherished and that they did leave behind a legacy of records of their experience and achievements admits of no doubt. But the fact also remains that *history* as a separate subject or a branch of learning, as a discipline or science was not known to them, (as to many others outside India) till recently, so that the huge literature — mythological, religious and quasi-historical, including the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*, in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali, that has come down from the remote past through various channels in one form or the other, still awaits scientific scrutiny and systematic treatment.[14] There is also ample evidence to show that the Indians had their own systems of astronomy and reckoning of time.[15]

Historic India.

Records have always formed the foundations of extensive empires and efficient systems of administration. We cannot, therefore, believe that the Empire of Asoka and the Administration of Chandra Gupta Maurya, for instance, had no such foundations. Records must have been kept, on some material or the other, of the orders and instructions issued from the Centre to the Provincial Governors and subordinate chiefs, of alliances and treaties with other independent rulers, of diaries and despatches kept by

13. **The Imperial Gazetteer of India,** Vol. ii, pp. 5-6.

14. **Ibid**., pp. 206, ff.

15. Sachao: **Albiruni's India,** Vol. ii, pp. 409, ff.

the Public Servants etc. Perishtable materials have vanished, and the evidence embodied therein has been lost for good, but enough evidence is still available to support the hypothesis stated above. Those who are under the impression that ancient India had no historical sense have lost sight of the records on rocks, the stories in stones and the tales or traditions that have travelled down the times.[16]

Records on Rocks.

The rock edicts of Asoka at the farthest limits of his far-flung Empire still proclaim the *Law of Piety*. That his intention was to preserve it for ever is borne out by the fact that he had it recorded on a substance which could definitely last for long, if not for ever. The Hathigumpha Inscription (156 55 B. C.) is another excellent instance of preserving history as far as possible. It gives an account of the life of King Kharavela from his birth to the 13th year of his reign, based either on day-books or some other sources.[17]

Genealogies.

Mention must also be made here of the Rajavalis and Pattavalis or the genealogies of pontiffs and kings, inscribed on copper-plates. Some of them go as far back as five centuries before the Christian era and supply lists of lineal successions of kings and their relationships.[18]

Stories in Stones.

The Buddhist sculptures and bas-reliefs, depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha, still speak out what they are, but only those who know their

16. **The Imperial Gazetteer of India**, Vol. ii, pp 7 ff; 206, ff.
17. **Ibid.**, pp 13-14, 41-42.
18. **Ibid.**, pp. 7, ff. , 61, 62.

background and themes can catch the meaning and appreciate the significance. There is no doubt that the stories of these scenes are mythological and far from realities, but even as such they do afford a clue to the innate desire of the authors to perpetuate the acts and exploits of those whom they loved and worshipped. They throw light on the beliefs of their makers and they are, therefore, factual at least in this limited sense. The images that have survived serve as witnesses to the cult or creed of image-worship and the multiplicity of gods and goddesses. They are, therefore, an important part of evidence, but for which history would have remained incomplete or, at any rate, inadequate in that respect.[19]

Persia.

Situated as it is astride the routes of Asia, Iran has always acted as an important link between East and West and exerted a widespread influence. Her history until the rise of Cyrus is said to be "a confused patchwork of myth and legend." Thanks, however, to the excavations of archaeologists and the explorations of adventurers, the famous trilingual inscription of Darius on the Bisitun (Bihistun) close to Kirmanshah has been copied, deciphered and interpreted. *Momentous* are said to be the results that have followed:

> "By providing the key to the cuneiform script of Babylonia, it has enabled us to wrest their secret from a torrent of written documents, historical, economic, or imaginative, in half a dozen languages, mostly inscribed on clay tablets, which are still pouring in in thousands from sites all over the ancient East, and whose study will occupy scholars for generations. This flood of documents has already caused a revolution in our views of some

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19. **Ibid.**, pp. 113 ff. Also see Jaffar: **Peshawar Past and Present**; Hargreaves: **Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum.**

aspects of the ancient world: for example, it has made us familiar with that vast Canaanite literature, in poetry and prose, largely from sites in Syria, like Ugarit, which illuminates so strikingly the background of the Old Testament. None of this literature on clay tablets would have been intelligible to us but for the act of Darius of recording his autobiography in a position so inaccessible, and the enterprise of Rawlinson and his successors in copying and interpreting the inscription. Of the three languages in which it is written, Babylonian, Elamite, and Old Persion—all using a cuneiform script—Old Persian, with its mainly alphabetic script limited to forty-three signs, had been partly intelligible since the beginning of the nineteenth century. This old Persian version of the text, therefore, provided a key to the older cuneiform scripts, and upon the basis so established. their interpretation was eventually worked out. For this unique and immeasuable service our debt to the Achaemenids and Darius in particular is not the less for its being incidental; the inscription is also by far the most considerable piece of literature surviving in the language of the Achaemenids, and an original historical document of the first importance.[20]

But for this Bisitun Inscription, which has evoked so much interest and admiration all over the world, it would not have been possible to say so much with confidence about historical sense in the Persia of remote past. This remarkable relic formed the foundation of what followed in the field of historical literature.

Paradise of Poets.

Persia is a Paradise of Poets. The people have preferred poetry to prose as a medium of expression. The themes selected by the poets include historical also. The best instance in support is the *Shahnamah* on which Firdausi worked for thirty years in order to infuse life into Ajam.[21]

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20. **The Legacy of Persia**, pp, 19-20.

21. This is what he has stated in the following verses:

بسے رنج بردم دریں سال سی — عجم زنده کردم بدیں فارسی-

Jaffar: **Mediaeval India Under Muslim Kings**, Vol. **II**, **The Ghanzawids**, **p.** 135. Also read pages 129, ff. to see how the book has suffered at the hands of the Homo sapiens since it was produced.

Arabia.

Great are the claims of Arabia and the Arabs on History, but very little has been done to recognise this and to liquidate the debt it owes to them. Writing in 1910, Rev. Griffiths Wheeler Thacker observed in connection with archaeological excavations and scientific investigations elsewhere: "little or nothing is being done, and the systematic work which has given such good results in Egypt, Palestine and Babylonia-Assyria is unknown in Arabia."[22] G. Rentz re-affirms this to-day when he says: "Excavations have been so few and limited that even the surface in many regions has not been scrutinised by trained searchers"[23] Professor Hitti has also had to open his account of the *History of the Arabs* by striking a similar corroborative note thus;

"Of all the lands comparable to Arabia in size, and of all the peoples approaching the Arabs in historical interest and importance, no country and no nationality has received so little consideration and study in modern times as have Arabia and the Arabs."[24]

Despite this obvious indifference, the antiquities of Arabia are attracting attention and we can safely say that "future investigations will certainly bring many new facts to light."[25]

Historic Past.

Surrounded by so many seats of civilization, Arabia could be little different from her neighbours. Its inhabitants, endowed with exceptionally good memory, with an inborn love for liberty and imbued with an innate interest in the activities of their ancestors, cannot be said to have been without historical

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22. **Arabia: Antiquities: Encyclopaedia Britannica.**
23. **Djazirat-al-Arab: History: The Encyclopaedia of Islam.**
24. **Hitti: History of the Arabs, p. 1.**
25. **Djazirat-al-Arab: History: The Encyclopaedia of Islam.**

sense. About the beginning of the second millenium B.C. "a development of vast importance in the later history of Arabia and of the Islamic world" followed the invention of an alphabetic writing to which so many other Semitic alphabets owed their origin.[26] The perishable material employed for the preservation of their experience (history) has vanished. But, as usual, a number of inscriptions on metal and stone have survived and saved the situation. The archaeological finds are so frequent that "current conclusions must be regarded as tentative."[27] The earliest Himyarite and Thamudic inscriptions, so far discovered, relate to South Arabia and are said to start from the seventh or eighth century B.C. They include those of purely historical character, "reporting a battle or announcing a victory", proclaiming "police ordinances inscribed on pillars" and exhibiting "a few legal documents which reveal a long constitutional development."[28] They are adding to our knowledge and confirming the impression that the early Arabs were historically conscious and keen to pass on their experience to posterity. Tracing the trends of civilization in early Arabia, Hitti says: "The South Arabians were the first to rise to prominence and develop a civilization of their own." And again, he says that such "a cultured and lettered society" can hardly be called 'barbaric'.[29]

26. **Al-Arab : Djazirat-ul-Arab in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.**

27. **Ibid., History,**

28. Hitti: **History of the Arabs,** pp. 50, ff.

29. **Ibid**., p. 87. The **Ayyam-il-Jahiliyah**—the Days of Darkness or the Age of Ignorance (*Al-Quran*, 3: 194, 5: 50, etc.) refer to the times when the people at the height of power and material progress (civilization) had relapsed into idolatry and other abominable practices. Cf. Civilization in the West, where God has been "deposed." Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 226, ff. There can be no **Islamic Concept** of any kind **without God.** See **Chapter X.**

Other Civilizations.

Civilizations of the same type flourished about the same time on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates (Mesoptamia, Assyria-Babylonia) as well as in the Valley of the Indus (Pakistan). All these civilizations have rival claims to *antiquity*, converging on 4000 years B.C. This is because they had a great deal in common: They had 'highly developed societies'. They had invented scripts for *writing* and devices for measuring *time* and fixing chronology. The written alphabets and the time devices were the foundations of recorded history that followed. The co-existence of these civilizations side by side show that the East as a whole had taken great strides in material prosperity, and that *History* must have played a prominent part in the process.[30]

Muslim Contribution.

The early history of the East as a whole is a mixture of facts and fiction and the farther back we move, the greater the element of fiction. It must have taken many centuries to cover the march from fables to facts or from mythology to history, more in principle than in practice.[31] With the rise of Islam under the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the whole world in general and Arabia and Persia in particular witnessed a momentous change in life and thought. The word *universal* best defines the compass of that change and the word *scientific* its attitude. We will deal with this with reference to history very briefly here but at some length in its proper place.[32] Since Islam proclaimed the unity of existence, the unity of human race and the unity of faith, the Musalmans all

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30. **Civilization: Past and Present,** Vol. i, p. 51. ff.

31. **Ibid.**, Vol. i, p. 310.

32. **In Chapter IX of this Volume and in the Volume on the Development of Historical Sense in the East.**

over the world constitute one single nation, because they have a common culture and a common source of inspiration—*Quran*. It is for this reason that their contributions to *History*, which had much in common, are treated together and not in connection with the accounts of the countries of their birth and residence. The view expressed in the following account that the source of inspiration in the case of every Muslim thinker was the *Holy Quran*, will be confirmed by the contents of the chapters on *Islamic Ideology* and *Islamic Concept of History*.

Jahiz & Ibn Maskawaih

Jahiz is believed to have been the first to take up the idea of evolution by noting metamorphosis, motion, movement, activity or change in bird life occasioned by mass movements.[33] Ibn Maskawaih developed it into a definite theory, employed it in his *Al-Fauz-al-Asghar* and made it a pivot of his argument to prove the presence of the Prime Mover or Maker, the Ultimate Cause or Cause without Cause and the Ultimate Source or the Source without Source, the nature of Soul and the qualities of Prophethood. The idea of universal activity, which is the very soul of history, originated with him and enabled him to work out his theory of evolution, which deserves serious study not only on account of its positive value but also because it sheds light on the trend of early Muslim thought.[34]

Theory of Evolution:

The sum and substance of Ibn Maskawaih's evolutionary hypothesis is that plant in the initial stage starts and survives without seed, differing from

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33. Iqbal: **The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam**, p. 133.

34. **Ibid.** See also Ibn Maskawaih's **Al-Fauz-al-Asghar** and Hamid's **Ibn Maskawaih.**

matter only in motion, then requires seed for birth and better soil and climate for growth, and enters the final stage in the form of vine and date-palm which exhibit distinct sex-signs; that the next stage in the evolution is change to animal life which begins with departure from earth-rootedness, progresses with independent conscious movement and culminates in the development of senses as seen in *horse* among the quadrupeds and *falcon* among the birds; that the ape stands on the boundary line between animality and humanity; that man stands on the highest stage in the scheme of biological evolution; and that further evolution is marked by reason or power of discrimination and spirituality—Prophethood.[35]

Organic Unity :

According to Ibn Maskawaih, all existence is one and this whole is an organism consisting of two worlds, higher and lower, of which the former permeates the latter which is the world of becoming, composition and decomposition. His is the first attempt to explain the development of various grades and shades of life in the lower world. "The spiritual urge which inspires and guides the process of evolution at the various stages of the lower world has its fount in the higher.'[36]

Human and Prophetic Vision.

Dealing with the process of evolution and specifying such stages in the scale as *Rational Soul*, *Memory*, *Inspiration*, Ibn Maskawaih draws distinction between *Human Vision* and *Prophetic Vision*. The man, gifted with vision—poet or philosopher—, ascends to *Divine Insight*, whereas the Inspired Soul—Prophet—who possesses qualities which cannot be

35. Hamid: **Ibn Maskawaih**, pp. 60, ff., 116 ff.

36. **Ibid.**; Ibn Maskawaih: **Al-Fauz-al-Asghar.**

acquired, receives Divine Influence directly from the Source and communicates it to others according to their receiving capacity. The Prophet can see what an ordinary man cannot.[37]

Albiruni.

Ibn Maskawaih's theory of universal activity and biological evolution found its counterpart in Albiruni's approach to the conception of Nature as a movement or change from being to becoming and the diverse phenomena of human life. Both these scholars were inspired by the *Holy Quran* and both of them worked on the same theme and at the same time, but in different places.[38]

Theory of History.

Albiruni has devoted the *Preface* of his work on India to his theory of history, comprising some of the basic principles of historiography and the fundamentals of historical research. While dealing with the sources of evidence — both ocular and hearsay, oral and written, based on reporting and recording— and holding "the everlasting monuments of the pen" as entirely indispensable for "historic authenticity," he has traced the principal causes of or the main motives for lying, suggested the methods of verification of facts and the sifting of materials by "the sieve of critical examination," emphasised the overall importance of truthfulness by quoting from the *Quran* and the *Bible*, and advocated the application of "a strictly scientific method", transcending personal bias. Where necessary, he has enlisted the support of suitable illustrations in favour of his argument. As to the qualities of his own work, he says that "it is a simple historic record of facts" and

37. **Ibid., Jaffar: Maqam-i-Nabuwat.**

38. **Iqbal: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam**, pp. 133, 138-39.

with regard to the contents of the quotations which are in conflict with the *Quran*, he disowns all responsibility by saying that "such is the belief of the Hindus and that they themselves are best qualified to defend it."[39]

Al-Hind.

Albiruni's concept of history is best illustrated by his *Al-Hind*- an encyclopaedic work which has immortalized his memory. It is as perfect a picture of India's past as could be possible a thousand years ago and as good an index of Indian culture, religion and philosophy as of the magnanimity of the Muslim mind. It is a balanced exposition of such problems as unity, eternity, creation, evolution, transmigration of soul, life and death, good and bad deeds, reward and punishment, slavery and salvation, etc. It deals with Nature—the earth and the sky, the mountains and the sea, the sun, the moon and the stars—,as well as with Man and his origin and activities in peace and war. It attempts to explain and account for religious practices(e.g. image-worship, etc.), social customs and traditions, morals and manners, habits and hobbies, mode of living and means of livelihood, etc. Creation and evolution, land and sea, time and space, calendar and countries, etc. all find a place in the picture.[40]

Its Evaluation.

It bears eloquent testimony to the fact that only a Muslim or one who had studied the *Holy Quran* and drawn inspiration from it could give such an impartial and authentic account of an alien culture in a spirit unknown or, at any rate, unpractised in an age overridden with religious fanaticism and fury. It shows how Muslims acquired knowledge from all

39. Sachao: **Albiruni's India**: *Perface*, pp. 1-8.

40. **Ibid.**, **Contents**; Ikram: **Ab-i-Kausar,** pp. 76, ff.

sources and put it to the best use of humanity. It is not possible to compare the contents of *Al-Hind* with those of *Al-Quran* within such a small compass. Those interested in the subject should do well to undertake a comparative study and estimate the extent of Albiruni's indebtedness to the main source—*Al-Quran*. Students of history, however, cannot fail to mark the catholicity of the Muslim mind when they learn how he lived in the land of idolators and mixed with them; how he learnt their language and travelled from place to place in pursuit of his enquiry, how he appreciated merit and exposed defects and drawbacks without fear or favour; and how he verified facts and exercised his judgment in writing his *Al-Hind*, now recognised as "a monument of well-digested erudition."[41]

Ibn-Khaldun:

We pass on to the greatest landmark in the History of History—Allama Ibn Khaldun, who remained in obscurity for over four centuries and who was recovered by the West only recently and recognised as the founder of philosophy of history, sociology and political economy.[42]

His Contribution:

His contribution has earned Allama Ibn Khaldun a degree of fame he could not dream of in his life-time. An impartial study of this work has established beyond doubt the fact that he was the first to deal with the philosophy of history and treat it as a science; to devote his time and mind to the study of political institutions such as growth of society and states, law and justice, public finance and taxation,

41. Ibid. pp. 1, ff. See also Smith: **History of India**, p. 15.

42. Issawi: **An Arab Philosophy of History**, pp. 24, ff. and Enan: **Ibn Khaldun—His Life and Work,** pp. 112, ff.

trade and commerce, arts and industries, etc., to study the social phenomena and the problem of population, the reaction of individual and group and the influence of climate and environment on man's character, growth and decay; to trace and discuss the causes of the rise and fall of nations; to deal with economic problems such as demand and supply, rise and fall of prices, means of livelihood, labour, property and wages; and to take up the whole and treat it as an organic unity.[43] Western historians, politicians, philosophers, sociologists and economists, who have studied him from their respective angles, have all claimed him as their preceptor. But Ibn Khaldun was primarily an historian. His philosophy, sociology and political economy are only *aids* to the explanation of history which, according to him, is not merely a recorded narrative confined to court chronicles, wars, intrigues, etc., but a science worthy of study for digging out the truth by tapping all available sources. of information and explaining the logic (how and why in additoin to what and where) of events and occurrences—a science encompassing the entire range of humanity in all its forms, phases and stages. Never before was history treated and interpreted in the manner he did. Notwithstanding the lapse of time, his intellectual legacy holds its own and retains its interest, importance and originality. He has proved beyond doubt the over-all importance of history and shown that it is a dynamic force without which there can be no progress.[44]

Source of Inspiration:

Some scholars have tried to trace the sources of Ibn Khaldun's ideas and influences in the works of Muslim historians like Al-Tabri, Al-Mas'udi and Al-

43. **Ibid., Ibn Khaldun: Muqaddima.**

44. **Ibid., Issawi: An Arab Philosophy of History, pp. 19, ff.**

Waqidi and Muslim political thinkers like Turtushi, Ibn Al-Muqaffa and Al Mawardi in the East and Greek as well as Spanish historians and philosophers in the West.[45] So far as Muslim historians and philosophers, whom Ibn Khaldun has quoted, are concerned, we know that they did not rise above the rank of chroniclers and thinkers much below the standard of Ibn Khaldun and there is no point in saying that he had drawn his inspiration from them. "As regards the science of the philosophy of history," writes Robert Flint. "Arab literature was adorned by one most brilliant name. Neither the classical nor the mediaeval Christian world can show one of nearly the same brightness...........Plato, Aristotle and Augustine were not his peers, and all others were unworthy of being even mentioned along with him."[46] Whether Ibn Khaldun had access to the works of Ibn Maskawaih and Albiruni, who worked on similar lines and under the same influence, is not yet proved, but it goes without saying that he was a Muslim like Ibn Maskawaih and Albiruni and that his views and work were influenced by the source of all sciences—*Al-Quran*. That Ibn Khaldun was influenced by his contemporaries as well as by his predecessors is not disputed but it is strongly contended that the dominating influence of Islam on his views and work has been appreciated by none except Allama Iqbal.[47]

Al-Quran and Muqaddima:

A comparative study of the *Holy Quran* and the *Muqaddima* or Prolegomena, which cannot be attempted here, makes it crystal clear that Allama Ibn Khaldun had drawn his inspiration from the former.

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45. **Ibid.**, pp. 19—20.

46. Flint: **History of Philosophy of History**, p. 86.

47. Iqbal: **The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam**, p. 139.

He has nowhere indicated the source obviously because it is self-evident and there was no need to do so. The evidence adduced here from the *Holy Quran*—and this is just sketchy—clearly shows how much he owed to it and how much escaped his attention. The roots of his 'systematic approach and his search for universal laws and tendencies governing social phenomena will be found in his genius,[48] but those of his views on Society and State, as well as his firm grasp of the presence of causality and necessity in social as well as in physical matters and his notion of historical evolution, which earned him praises of Western, historians' will be found in the *Holy Quran* which contains very much more than what he perceived and propounded in the *Prolegomena.* If "he has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place,"[49] it was because he was a Muslim and had drawn upon the fountain-head of knowledge—*Al-Quran.* His conception of history as a science and as a creative and continuous movement in time and space was based on five fundamental teachings of Islam: (1) the claim of the *Quran* that it contains a clear account of everything, wet and dry, (2) the stress laid on *Kitab wal Hikmat* or knowledge and science and the claim that the *Quran* is not poetry but science, (3) the unity of human origin, (4) a clear conception of the reality of time and space and the evolution of the universe and (5) the invitation to think, reflect over and draw lessons from the experience of the past embodied in the *Qasas* or stories narrated in the *Holy Quran,*[50] as already stated.

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48. Issawi: **An Arab Philosophy of History,** p. 19.

49. **Ibid.,** pp. 19, ff.; Enan: **Ibn Khaldun—His Life and Work,** pp. 81, ff. ; Toynbee: **A Study of History,** Vol. iii, p. 322.

50. See Chapter IX on **Islamic Ideology** in support.

The long paragraph he has devoted to the delineation of principal traits of the character of the Arabs is ' a mere amplification' of the relevant verses of the *Holy Quran*:[51]

Last Lacuna.

But for the only gap that still remained to be filled in order to ensure that the material employed in the writing or reconstruction of history was correctly correlated and kept intact according to a scientific system of classification, without which history could not be called a science for want of precision, Ibn Khaldun would have certainly raised history to the status of a science in the strict sense of the word.[52]

Abul Fazl.

> Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government; it is even necessary for any rank of society. Though a trace of this office may have existed in ancient times, the higher objects were but recognised in the present reign.[53]

It was Allama Abul Fazl who recorded these remarks with reference to the reign of Emperor Akbar and with perfect truth. Abul Fazl fully appreciated the importance of archives for the administration of the Empire and the compilation of national history. It is impossible to go into the elaborate technique that was evolved and put into practice at his initiative and under his guidance. We must, therefore, be content with a short notice of the outstanding features:

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51. Al-Quran, ix : 97, 98 ; Iqbal : **The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,** p. 139.

52. See **Classification of Records—Pakistani System—Progressive Plan.**

53. Abul Fazl: **Ain-i-Akbari,** Vol. i. p. 259.

Archives:

A regular Secretariat, called *Dar-ul-Insha*, was organized and staffed with qualified clerks. It continued to function efficiently and contributed to the efficiency of the administration and the cause of national history. The Emperor held his *Darbar* (Court) twice a day, even in the field. Two of the clerks at the Court used to pen down proceedings—every paper that was put up, every petition that was presented, every enquiry that was instituted, every order that was passed. A complete record of the proceedings was maintained in an office set up for the purpose. Like the Imperial Capital, every Provincial Capital had a Record Room of its own in the charge of a *Daftardar* or Keeper of Records [54]

Accessibility:

The Archives of the Mughal Empire were accessible to all from the State Historian to the foreign traveller. Copies of documents, however confidential, could be obtained on payment of moderate fee to the custodians concerned. It was due mainly to the liberal character of the Mughal Administration that we have inherited part of the most valuable record of day-to-day business of the Imperial Court in the form of *Roznamchas* and a series of news-letters in the form of *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, which were taken down in open Court. Again, it was due to the enlightened policy of the Great Mughals that the administrative archives were drawn upon for first-hand information by the contemporary chroniclers, native as well as foreign, and we have such elaborate and authentic works as *Akbarnamah* including *Ain-i-Akbari*—an encyclopaedic account fit to rank with the

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54. Jaffar: The Archives of the Mughal Empire, which deals with Records and Record Offices of the Mughal Government in India.

Kitab Al-Hind and the *Prolegomena* in historical importance if not in the philosophy of history—*Iqbal-namah*, *Badshahnamah*, *Alamgirnamah*, etc., written by Court historians, and the *Commentary of Monserrate*, the *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul* (1615-1619 A. D.), the *Itineraries de las Missiones qui hizo padre Sebastian Manrique* and *Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire* (1656-1668-A. D.), which contain many particulars based on the information derived from official records.[55] Contemporary governments elsewhere made no such arrangements and we can safely say that the Mughal Administration was far ahead of the times in this as in many other fields.

Iqbal.

The world has known Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal as a poet-philosopher or a philosopher-poet. In that capacity he has dealt with many aspects of Nature and man's life and work. *Iqbaliat* or Studies on Iqbal have become a distinct subject and scholars have produced considerable literature on it. But it was left to a student of history to bring out his contribution to the cause of history.

Concept of History.

What memory is for one man, historical experience is for entire mankind. Just as an individual loses his individuality when he loses his memory, similarly a nation loses its existence when it loses its history."[56]

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55. **Ibid.** Also see **Ain-i-Akbari**, Vol. i, pp. 259, 268-70; **Akbar-Namah**, Vol. iii., pp. 167, 208; Manucci: **Storio Do Mogor**, Vol. iii, p. 171; Smith: **Akbar**, p. 3; **Fatehpur Sikri**, Vol. iii, pp. 41-43; Sarkar: **Mughal Administration**, pp. 32-33; Sharma: **Bibliography of Mughal India**, pp. 8-10.

56. This passage is based on the following verses:

یاد او با خود شناسایش کند — حفظ ربط دوش و فردایش کند

فرد چون پیوند ایامش گسیخت — شانهٔ ادراک او دندانه ریخت

This is what Iqbal has stated in some of his verses. Surely, historical experience passes from man to man, from generation to generation, from nation to nation, from day to day, from year to year and from age to age, or, in other words, it is a continuous and creative movement in time, gathering and giving benefits. Iqbal describes and defines history, outlines its range and scope and emphasises its purpose and importance in a series of verses, of which the translation is as follows:-

What is History, O you, who have forgotton yourself?

It is a long tale, a story and a romance.

It acquaints you with yourself.

It equips you with experience and puts you on the right path.

It digs out your present from the past.

It raises your future on the present.

Preserve your history and perpetuate yourself.

Derive life from death. (i. e. take lesson from the past) and be alive for ever.

If you want an un-ending life,

Do not cut off the connection of the future and the present with the past.[57]

قوم روشن از سواد سرگزشت — خود شناس آمد زباد سرگزشت
سرگزشت او گراز یادش رود — باز اندر لیستی گم مے شود

Iqbal: **Asrar-i-Khudi.**

57. The original verses are as follows:—

چیست تاریخ اے زخود بیگانۂ — داستانے قصۂ افسانۂ
این ترا از خویشتن آگاہ کند — آشنائے کار و مرد راہ کند
سر زند از ماضی تو حال تو — خیزد از حال تو استقبال تو
ضبط کن تاریخ را پائندہ شو — وز نفسہائے رمیدہ زندہ شو
مشکن ار خواهی حیات لازوال — رشتۂ ماضی ز استقبال و حال

Iqbal: **Ramuz-i-Bekhudi.**

Iqbal refers to the alternation of day and night as "a symbol of the ultimate Reality." He also refers to the change as the moulder of events and occurrences and as an indication of rise and fall, life and death.[58] He has discussed the theory of Time and Space in the light of Islamic Ideology.[59] In his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* he has dealt with the philosophy of history in the light of the *Holy Quran* and pointed out, for the first time, that Allama Ibn Khaldun had drawn his inspiration from that fountain-head.[60] He also asserts that "Ibn Maskawaih's view of life as an evolutionary movement" and Albiruni's "definite approach to the conception of Nature as a process of becoming" constituted "the intellectual inheritance of Ibn Khaldun."[61]

Progressive Plan.

And, finally, the system of classification called *Progressive Plan*, which aims at presenting a perfect picture by putting all relevant records in their proper places and maintaining their interrelation was inspired by a study of the *Holy Quran* and the Prophet's practice of preserving and putting Quranic verses in correct context and thereby restoring the sequence disturbed by the scribes, etc.[62]

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58. The relevant verses are as follows:

سلسلۂ روز و شب نقش گر حادثات - سلسلۂ روز و شب اصل حیات و ممات
سلسلۂ روز و شب تار حریر دو رنگ - جس سے بناتی ہے ذات اپنی قبائے صفات

Iqbal: **Bal-i-Jibril**

59. **Ibid.; Iqbal as a Thinker**, pp. 1-41.

60. Iqbal: **The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam**, pp. 138, ff.

61. **Ibid.**, p. 142.

62. **Classification of Records—Pakistani System—Progressive Plan.**

Foundations of History.

Our account of Historical Sense in the East, inadequate as it is, would be sadly deficient without, at least, passing references to what are regarded as the bases of history, viz. (1) Writing: Books and Libraries; and (2) Time: Calendar and Chronology. Deferring the fuller account to be dealt with in due course, a synopsis of the history of these bases of history is presented here to complete what is nothing more than a mere outline.

Writing: Books: Libraries.

As an embodiment of thought, writing ranks next only to speech and supersedes memory; but its evolution, notwithstanding its importance, has been extremely slow and spread over a long period of time.[63] Starting from scratches on sands and signs on sticks and standardizing itself in the form of wedge-shaped and arrow-headed characters (cuneiform), hieroglyphs —half writing and half picture— alphabets, scripts and styles of hand-writing, peculiar to particular languages, the art of writing gradually developed into a separate science now known as Palaeography. Egypt, Assyria-Babylonia, Persia, India, and China have rival claims to priority in producing the alphabet as the medium of writing that can endure in spite of memory. This is not the place to probe the problem and decide the issue in the light of the evidence made available by archaeology and anthropology.[64] The hieroglyphs of Egypt do mark a stage far above the initial stage of a fully developed alphabet. The materials employed for writing, which varied in various cases, were clay bricks and cylinders, leaves and bark of trees, wooden

63. Shotwell: Introduction to the History of History, p. 28.

64. Ibid., pp. 28, ff.

tablets and plastered walls, leather and skin, metal and stone, vellum and papyrus, parchment and paper. Egypt's claim to be the provenance of papyrus and China's claim to the invention of paper are well-established.[65] From the ancient papyrus rolls to the MSS. in the Middle Ages is a long distance, which cannot be traversed here. How History has benefited from the large libraries and private collections in the past is a fact which has not yet received the recognition it deserves.[66] Perishable materials have vanished and nothing can be said with certainty about them and their contents. Inscriptions on metals and stones have survived and enabled archaeologists to reconstruct the history of the remote past by a comparative study of the remains and the cultures that have survived and supplied the relevant data.[67]

Time: Calendar: Chronology.

"Time is the basis of history, as space is of geography or matter of the physical sciences. Until some method of keeping accurate track of it was discovered, the data of history were like an uncharted land or an unanalyzed substance."[68] Nothing could afford a clearer clue to the requisite units of time than the movement of the earth on its axis, the motion of the moon round the earth and the revolution of the earth round the sun. "The first chronometer was the universe itself," of which the ever-recurring movements struck off the years, the months and the days in the same way as our clocks now strike off the hours, the minutes and the seconds.

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65. **Ibid.**, pp 29, 31, 35.

66. **Ibid.**; Jaffar: **Education in Muslim India**, pp. 231-32 and **Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India**, pp. 89-90.

67. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History**, pp. 14, 15, 51; Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing**, pp. 3-20.

68. **Ibid.**, p. 40.

The days, the months and the years are on a par with the seconds, the minutes and the hours, except that they are created by a colossal clock.[69] Whereas the movements of the moon suggested the division of time into months, each month consisting of 29 or 30 days, the cyclic movement of the sun and the consequent occurrence of the seasons gave us a unit of time called *year*.[70] The division of time into weeks was a gift of the Law of Moses, according to which the seventh day was the *sabbath* or the day of rest.[71] The Jewish year had 12 lunar months, to which another month was added, when needed, to adjust it to the sun and the seasons. Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt and Persia played a prominent part in the development of calendar and chronology.[72] The origins of Babylonian lunar calendar go very far back—beyond the third millennium, "when we find a Babylonian year of twelve lunar months, making up 354 days, with a thirteenth month thrown in once in a while—making that year 384 days—to bring the religious festivals and the business world right again."[73] The discovery that "in nineteen years the moon returned to almost its original position with reference to the sun" opened up fresh avenues for the interworking of calendar and chronology and led to the emergence of the sciences of astronomy and mathematics. "This was an epoch in the history of thought, an epoch of fundamental importance for history, for from that time to the the present the years have been numbered in regular,

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69. Ibid, pp. 41-42.

70. See Calendar in The New Educator Encyclopedia.

71. Ibid.; Shotwell: Introduction to the History of History, pp. 40, ff.

72. Ibid. See also Tarikh in the Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam and Calendar in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

73. Shotwell: Introduction to the History of History, p. 43.

unbroken succession."[74] The dates of the kings of Assyria were fixed and the list drawn up, beginning with the year 747 B.C., was made use of by the astronomers of Alexandria, "who finally worked out the problem of calendar and chronology." Of this the annals of ancient Egypt afford an excellent proof, if proof is needed.[75] The Babylonian-Assyrian year was rendered into the "fixed" Egyptian year of 365¼ days. The 'Era of Nabonassar' was adopted in the Alexandrian and Persian Empires and the track of time has been kept since 747 B. C.,[76] so that the narrative of events with reference to years or dates (history) came to be called *Tarikh* and Ayyam.[77] Further developments followed in the West and the result was the calendar we have upon our walls. "The moon and not the sun is generally the earliest guide toward the calendar."[78] The East and not the West led the way in the field of calendar and chronology. Islam followed the natural course—the lunar system—as against the "artificial solar system"[79] Mention must also be made here of that "unique" master-piece in the world of literature called *Al-Asar-ul-Baqiyah* of Allama Albiruni, which has been translated into English as *Chronology of Ancient Nations* and which is the "first work" of its kind on the subject it deals with.[80]

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74. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

75. Ibid., pp 51, ff. ; Breasted: Ancient Records of Egypt.

76. Shotwell: Introduction to the History of History, p. 45.

77. Rosenthal: A History of Muslim Historiography, pp. 11, and 203-204.

78. Shotwell: Introduction to the History of History, p. 44.

79. Ibid., p. 41.

80. See Al-Asar-ul-Baqiyah or Chronology of Ancient Nations and Tarikh in The Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Chapter III

HISTORICAL SENSE IN THE WEST

Introductory.

The documentary evidence so far accumulated and made available for research shows that in the West the Greek historians were far ahead of their contemporaries in the field of historiography. An attempt has been made here to present, as far as possible, the pick of Greek historical thought side by side with the best of other historical thought in the West along with its faults and failures, not for minimizing its importance but for stating facts (history) and showing how in this case, as also in other cases, practice lagged behind and even revolted against principle.[1] It will be seen that "Hellenic historians were drawn from all the peoples among whom the Gospel of Hellenism was successively propagated." Thus Josephus was a Jew, Procopius a Philistine, Herodian a Syrian, and Theophylactus Simocatta an Egyptian.[2]

True Historic Spirit.

> I write as I deem true, for the traditions of the Greeks seem to be manifold and laughable."[3] — Hecataeus of Miletus.

This is stated to be the earliest remark recorded to mark "the starting point" of what is called "true historic spirit." It formed the foundation of the historical thought that followed in the West.[4]

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1. The same procedure is followed while dealing with Historical Sense in the East.

2. Toynbee : Greek Historical Thought, Introduction, p. xi.

3. History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 4. Ibid.

Herodotus : 'Father of History.'

While Herodorus of Heraclea (500 B. C.) tried to "rationalize" mythology, and fix chronology on firm foundations, Herodotus of Halicarnassus (ca. 495-425 B.C.) presented the results of his researches (*historia*, meaning search or inquiry) "with the twofold object of saving the past of mankind from oblivion and ensuring that the extraordinary achievements of the Hellenic and the Oriental worlds shall enjoy their just renown—particularly the transactions which brought them into conflict with one another."[5] The following three passages selected from his work will show his concept of history, scholarship and research :

> At this point, no alternative is open to me but to record a judgment which will be ill received by the generality of public opinion but in which I cannot refrain from following up what appears to me to be the truth."[6]

> My personal duty is to reproduce what is related, but I am under no obligation whatever to believe it — a principle which applies, incidentally, to all my work.[7]

> So much for the Persian and Phoenician stories. For my own part, I shall not commit myself to a definite opinion in this controversy, but shall take as my starting point the first historical character who, to my knowledge, was guilty of aggression against the Hellenes. In the course of my narrative I shall devote as much attention to small countries as to great, for those which were great in the past have mostly become small, while those which were great in my time had been small before. Conscious as I am of the perpetual instability of human fortunes, I shall make no distinction in my treatment of the two.[8]

Herodotus tried to combine 'artistic sense' with 'scientific spirit' in his historical creations. Considering the crude media of investigation, the inadequacy of evidence and the primitive stage of history, "the work of Herodotus remains a scientific achievement,

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5. Toynbee : Greek Historical Thought, p. 29.

6. Ibid., p. 160. 7. Ibid., p. 7. 8. Ibid., p. 31.

as remarkable for its approximation to truth as for the vastness of its scope."[9]

Thucydides.

Thucydides of Athens (ca. 460-395 B. C.) hated the story-teller "who seeks to please the ear rather than to speak the truth."[10] He chose to expose the dark side of the picture as against the bright side selected by Herodotus. He aimed at a scientific method and a permanent contribution, as is evident from the following passage taken from his account of the Pelloponnesian War:

Permanent Contribution.

As regards the material facts of the war, I have not been content to follow casual informants or my own imagination. Where I have not been an eye-witness myself, I have investigated with the utmost accuracy attainable every detail that I have taken at second hand. The task has been laborious, for witnesses of the same particular events have given versions that have varied according to their sympathies or retentive powers. Possibly the public will find my unromantic narrative forbidding, but I shall be satisfied if it is favorably received by readers whose object is exact knowldege of facts which had not only actually occurred, but which are destined approximately to repeat themselves in all human probability. I have tried to produce a permanent contribution to knowledge rather than an ephemeral *tour de force.*[11]

Thucydides is regarded as a great historian who excelled his distinguished predecessor in his professional achievement. The "laborious task", spoken of by him, entailed the examination of all available evidence and the evaluation of contradictory and conflicting accounts. He applied himself to the task and the result was a narrative which exhibited 'a higher art' and 'a higher science.'[12]

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9. History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 10. Ibid.

11. Toynbee : Greek Historical Thought, pp. 40-41.

12. History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Polybius.

Polybius of Megalopolis (ca. 201-120 B. C.) was "one of the three great historical geniuses of Hellenism."[13] He enriched the Greek Historical Thought with his illuminating contributions, which are but briefly described below :

Importance of History.

If previous historians had omitted to praise their own art, it might have been my duty to make a general appeal for the sympathetic reception of this branch of literature. The knowledge of past events is the sovereign corrective of human nature. This duty, however, is far from having been exceptionally or perfunctorily performed. It is actually the note on which almost all historians have begun and ended their work, when they have eulogized the lessons of history as the truest education and training for political life, and the study of others' vicissitudes as the most effective, or indeed the only, school in which the right spirit for enduring the changes of fortune can be acquired.[14]

Historian's Moral Attitude.

Directly a man assumes the moral attitude of an historian he ought to forget all considerations, such as of love of one's friends, hatred of one's enemies.......He must sometimes praise enemies and blame friends. For as a living creature is rendered useless if deprived of its eyes, so if you take truth from History, what is left but an unprofitable tale.[15]

Professional Misconduct.

A historian, however, who suppresses both the words spoken and their cause and replaces them by fictitious expositions and verbosities, destroys, in so doing, the characteristic quality of History; and this is precisely the offence of which Timaeus is guilty. The fact that every volume of his works is full of such spurious matter is common knowledge.[16]

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13. Toynbee : **Greek Historical Thought**, p. xii.
14. **Ibid.**, p. 43.
15. **History** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica**.
16. Toynbee : **Greek Historical Thought**, p. 180.

Why and How.

Advising the readers and writers of history to concentrate their attention more upon "the antecedents, concomitants and consequences" than on "the bald narrative of transactions,"[17] Polybius further observed:

> If you abstract from History the "Why" and the "Wherefore" of the particular transaction and the rationality or the reverse of its result, what is left of her ceases to be a science and becomes a *tour de force*, which may give momentary pleasure, but is of no assistance whatever for dealing with the future.[18]

Morphology.

Polybius was a die-hard exponent of the unity of history. He held that the events of the world are interrelated and cannot be correctly comprehended when apart or in isolation. He emphasised the morphology of universal history in these words:

> I flatter myself that the actual record of the facts has now confirmed the truth of a principle that it is impossible to obtain from the monographs of historical specialists a comprehensive view of the morphology of Universal History. By reading a bald and isolated narrative of the transactions in Sicily and Spain, it is obviously impossible to realize and understand either the magnitude or the unity of the events in question.[19]

Practical Use.

The observations of Polybius on the practical use of history are equally interesting and instructive. He pointedly states:

> What does it profit the reader to wade through wars and battles and sieges of towns and enslavement of peoples, if he is not to penetrate the knowledge of the causes which made the one party succeed and the other fail in the respective situations. The results of transactions are merely entertaining to the reader,

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17. Ibid., pp. 134-36. 18. Ibid. 19. Ibid., p. 138.

whereas research into the previous dispositions of the agents is profitable to the serious student. The analysis of a given event, in all the detail of its mechanism, is the best education of all for readers with the patience to follow the process.[20]

Diodorus.

Diodorus of Agyrium (ca. 90-20 B. C.) was also a votary of universal history. "Toil and danger", he says "are the price of the practical wisdom," and adds: "History is able to instruct without inflicting pain by affording an insight into the failures and successes of others."[21] His views on history as compared to other branches of eloquence are well worth quotation :

History : Human Wisdom.

Poetry affords pleasure rather than profit, legislation is punitive, and similarly the other branches either make no contribution to human happiness or produce a mixed crop of wheat and tares, while some of them are traitors to truth. In History alone there is not merely a harmony between the facts and their literary expression, but a combination of every utility. Know her by her fruits, and you will find her making for righteousness, denouncing evil, eulogizing the good, and in a word, endowing those who study her with the sum of human wisdom.[22]

Dionysius.

From the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (latter half of first century B. C.) it appears that the principal business of an historian was to present the bright side of the picture and to omit its dark side. According to this principle, the aim of the historian was to "give pleasure to" and "to have agreeable effect on the reader's mind."[23] Expressing his ideas about Herodotus and Thucydides, he writes:

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20. Ibid., p. 147. 21. Ibid., p. 48. 22. Ibid., p. 50.
23. Ibid., p. 185, ff.

Historian's Business.

The first and really essential business of a historian is to choose a good subject which will give pleasure to his readers. Herodotus has been more successful in this than Thucydides. Thucydides writes the history of a single war which was neither glorious nor beneficial and would have been better unfought or (failing that) should have been deliberately consigned to oblivion and concealed from posterity. The badness of his subject is betrayed by his own preface, ... expatriation of populations and destruction of life, earthquakes, bad harvests, epidemics and other disasters...The story of extraordinary achievements of the Hellenes and the Oriental worlds is superior to that of cruel disasters experienced by Hellenes alone and this means that Herodotus has shown greater judgment in his choice of subject than Thucydides.[24]

What is the writer's own attitude towards his subject? Herodotus' attitude is invariably rightminded. He rejoices in good and hates evil. Thucydides' attitude is uncompromising and bitter, and he can never forgive his country for having sent him into exile. He is merciless in detailing anything that goes wrong but when something comes right, he either ignores it altogether or only vouchsafes it a grudging mention. [25]

Cicero: Historian's Duty.

Cicero (106-43 B. C.) summed up the duty of the historian by saying that he should "conceal nothing true and say nothing false." But he regarded history as "the mine from which to draw argument in oratory and example in education" and not "a subject of scientific curiosity."[26]

Josephus: Archives.

Flavius Josephus of Jerusalem (38-100) stressed the importance of public records, which form the foundation of history, in the following words :

"The fact that, from the outset, the Hellenes have never exerted themselves to keep public registers of current events is surely the fundamental reason for the confusion into which writers

24. Ibid., pp. 185-86. 25. Ibid., p. 188.

26. History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

who have subsequently attempted to deal with ancient history have fallen, and for the license to commit inaccuracies which they have enjoyed. The absence of any previously prepared foundation in the shape of public records, which would have instructed those who desired to know the truth and would have confuted the inaccurate, is thus the principal cause of the discrepancy between Hellenic historical writers."[27]

Lucian : Ideal Historian.

Lucian of Samosata (ca. 125-200 A. D.) throws the following light on the qualities of what he called his own 'ideal historian' :

My own ideal historian is fearless, incorruptible, highminded and a frank exponent of the truth. He will satisfy the requirements of the proverb by calling figs figs and a spade a spade. The impartiality of his judgment will not be affected by sympathy or antipathy, good feeling or sentiment, shame or shyness. *He will do his best for all his characters so far as he can do it without favouring one at the expense of another.*[28] He will be a stranger and a sojourner in the land of books, a law unto himself and acknowledging no allegiances. He will not stop to consider what A or B will think, but will state the facts.

I admire the ruling of Thucydides and his criterion of good and bad writing. (He was thinking of the reputation enjoyed by Herodotus, which was so great that his volumes were called after the Muses.) Thucydides claims to be producing a permanent contribution to knowledge rather than an ephemeral *tour de force*, and takes credit for resisting the temptation to embroider and for leaving to posterity a record of the facts as they actually occurred. He also introduces the idea of utility and what is obviously the rational object of History, which is, as he explains, to enable mankind to cope successfully with current problems in the light of records of the past, in the event of circumstances repeating themselves.

This is the spirit which I want to find in my historian; and as regards delivery and expression, I do not want him, when he begins to write, to have acquired the cutting edge of the expert stylist with his exaggerated nippiness, neatness and fluency.

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27. Toynbee: **Greek Historical Thought**, pp. 65-66. See also **Introduction to the History of History**, pp. 121, ff.

28. The text in *Italics* needs critical examination.

I want something less aggressive—the thought consecutive and concentrated, the language clear and practical, the exposition distinctive."[29]

Herodian.

Herodian, the Syrian, flourished about the first half of the third century after Christ. Finding fault with the contemporary works on history, which left him cold, he undertook to write history according to his own choice. He has expressed this in the following words :

> Most writers who have occupied themselves with the composition of historical works .... solicited an immortal reputation for culture. Should they fail to express themselves, they feared to be numbered with the mighty multitude of the obscure, but in their narratives they have paid little regard to the truth. Some have been induced by hostility or hatred towards despots, or by regard, whether interested or genuine, for kings, counrties or individuals, to endow trivial and insignificant events with an exaggerated reputation by the brilliance of their literary art. For my part, I have not been content to take at second hand some abstruse historical subject which my readers cannot control, but have collected the materials for my work with scrupulous exactitude at a time when the memory of the events which it records is still fresh in the minds of those who are to peruse it.[30]

Theophylactus.

Theophylactus Simocatta, the Egyptian (ca, 560-630 A. D.) was a philosopher-historian, who in an interesting dialogue between philosophy as *queen* and history as *teacher*, beautifully brought out the significance of the two subjects. In the course of the conversation, the queen showered praises on the teacher and ended it with the request to "lead the way."[31] The author's ideas may be summed up in his own words :

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29. Toynbee : **Greek Historical Thought,** pp. 196-97.

30. **Ibid.,** pp. 77. 31. **Ibid.,** pp. 94-96.

Reason and History.

Most important of all, Reason has arranged the infinite variety of History to delight the reader and to educate the soul. For inquiring souls there is nothing more attractive than History, as is sufficiently demonstrated by a story in the pages of Homer.

History will accordingly be found to be the universal teacher of Mankind, who lays before us what we should attempt and what we should leave alone as being unlikely to succeed...[32]

Bolingbroke: Force of Examples.

History is regarded as 'philosophy teaching by examples.' This is mainly because man has remained much the same at foundation and history repeats itself in the sense that events and occurrences of the same type do take place though at different times. Things are better explained and understood by examples than by words: "Men believe more from seeing than hearing; the way is long by precepts, short and effective by examples."[33]

History and Experience.

History and Experience are considered "the masters of the school of example"—the world. The force of example is felt by all living creatures. Personal (present) experience is too limited to guide us. It is deficient at both ends:.

"We are born too late to see the beginning and we die too soon to see the end of many things."[34]

Bolingbroke states how History—accumulated experience of the the past—supplies what is wanting at both ends:

"Modern history shows the causes, when experience presents the effects alone; and ancient history enables us to guess at the effects, when experience presents the causes alone.[35]

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32. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
33. The International Library of Famous Literature, Vol. viii, pp. 3793-94. 34. Ibid., p. 3803. 35. Ibid.

Referring to the "two ways of improvement" of all men, "one arising from their own experience, and one from the experience of others", Polybius had stated long before Bolingbroke :

That (experience) is indeed plainer which arises through our own misfortunes, but that is safer which arises through those of others .. ..since the first of these ways exposes us to great labour and peril, whilst the second works the same good effect, and is attended by no evil circumstances, everyone ought to take for granted that the study of history is the best school where he can learn how to conduct himself in all the situations of life.[36]

Genius.

Personal experience and experience of the past (history) are assets indeed, but genius is considered as superior to both by Bolingbroke, who says :

"I would wish to find the three together: for how great soever a genius may be and how much soever he may acquire new light and heat, as he proceeds in his rapid course, certain it is that he will never shine with the full luster, nor shed the full influence he is capable of, unless to his own experience he adds the experience of other men and other ages. Genius, without the improvement, at least, of experience, is what comets once were thought to be, a blazing meteor, irregular in his course, and dangerous in his approach; of no use to any system, and able to destroy any. Mere sons of earth, if they have experience without any knowledge of the history of the world, are but half scholars in the science of mankind. And if they are conversant in history without, sometimes experience, they are worse than ignorant; they are pedants, always incapable, sometimes meddling and presuming. The man who has all three is an honor to his country, and a public blessing."[37]

Innate Character.

With regard to the bent of mind and the turn of thought, brought alongwith and acquired by men and their influence on different individuals, the same scholar, Bolingbroke, states:

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36. Ibid., p. 3800. 37. Ibid., p. 3795.

"The temper of the mind is formed, and a certain turn given to our ways of thinking; in a word, the seeds of that moral character which cannot wholly alter the natural character, but may correct the evil and improve the good that is in it, or do the very contrary, are shown betimes, and much sooner than is commonly supposed. It is equally certain that we shall gather or not gather experience, be the better or the worse for this experience, when we come into the world and mingle amongst mankind, according to the temper of mind, and the turn of thought that we have acquired beforehand and bring along with us. They will tincture all our future acquisitions; so that the very same experience which secures the judgment of one man, or excites him to virtue, shall lead another into error, or plunge him into vice. From hence it follows that the study of history has in this respect a double advantage. If experience alone can make us perfect in our parts, experience cannot begin to teach them till we are actually on the stage: whereas, by a previous application to this study, we con them over at least, before we appear there: we are not quite unprepared, we learn our parts sooner, and we learn them better."[38]

Wit and Wisdom.

Following Francis Bacon, who said "History maketh man wise", Schiller, who started the study of history rather late, said:

"Had I begun earlier and spent thirty years in reading history, I should be far different and a better man than I am."[39]

Judgment and Experience.

Goethe emphasised the importance of personal *experience* in passing judgment on history when he said: "No man can judge history but one who has himself experienced history."[40] Spengler, who was inspired by Goethe, said:

"Nothing seems to us more self-evident and unambiguous than "experience" as the source of exact science....Experience means to us an *activity* of the intellect, which does not resignedly confine itself to receiving, acknowledging and arranging momen-

38. Ibid., p. 3798.

39. Historians' History of the World, Vol. I, p. 20.

40. Spengler : The Decline of the West, Vol. i, p. 103.

tary and purely present impression, but seeks them out and calls them up in order to overcome them in their sensuous presence and to bring them into an unbounded unity in which their sensuous discreteness is dissolved. Experience in our sense possesses the tendency *from particular to infinite*."[41]

Strauss : History as a Sound Aristocrat.

Considering the actual part played by him in life, the following is the last opinion expressed by David Strauss on the sense and significance of History:

"History is a sound aristocrat. There may be oligarchies close enough and jealous enough to stifle thought as completely as an Oriental despot who is at the same time the pontiff of a religion; but the progress of mankind has hitherto been effected by the rise and fall of aristocracies, by the formation of one aristocracy within another, or by the succession of one aristocracy to another. There have been so-called democracies, which have rendered services beyond price to civilization, but they were only peculiar forms of aristocracy.[42]

"The short-lived Athenian democracy, under whose shelter art, science, and philosophy shot so wonderfully upwards, was only an aristocracy which rose on the ruins of one much narrower. The splendour which attracted the original genius of the then civilized world to Athens was provided by the severe taxation of a thousand subject cities; and the skilled laborers who worked under Phidias, and who built the Parthenon, were slaves."[43]

It is evident from the above expressions that history was taken to mean an account of the activities of the person or party in power, whether aristocracy, oligarchy or democracy. Henry Maine has cited them in support of his essay on *Arrest of Progress by Democracy*. His argument was that in their ultimate analysis, all forms of government boiled down to

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41. Ibid., pp 393-94.

42 The International Library of Famous Literature, Vol. xix, p. 8899. 43. Ibid.

aristocracy and that history is in fact an account of the activities of aristocracy and hence it is a sound aristocrat.[44] The inescapable impression it leaves on the mind is that *Democracy* is one of the glowing expressions exploited for self-aggrandisement.

Hegel's Philosophical History.

Hegel is rightly regarded as "the most abstruse of the Teutonic philosophers". In his *Philosophical History* he has dealt with such vital problems of universal interest and importance as Reason, God, Religion, Morality, State, Freedom and Necessity. Holding the world-process as history, he has built up his philosophy of history in such a way as to embrace the whole of human knowledge. It is only with "the utmost concentration that one can follow its laybrinthine passages"[45] and put them in logical sequence. While it is left to the reader to resort to the whole and work out his own way through the mass, an attempt has been made to pick up the pertinent passages and put them togather in such a way as to form a perfect picture of what he wanted to present. The portions which call for careful consideration are printed in Italics. His philosophy in general and his concept of God, Religion. Morality, State, Freedom and Necessity in particular may be compared with Islamic Ideology and the difference between the two be noted.

Reason : Divine Wisdom.

The only thought that Philosophy brings with it to the contemplation of History, is the simple conception of Reason; that *Reason is the Sovereign of the world:* that the *History* of the world, therefore, presents us with a *rational process.*[46]

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44. Ibid, pp. 8899, ff.

45. Hegel: Philosophical History (The Political Philosophers) p. 410.

46. Ibid., pp. 412, ff.

Reason directs the world....the world is not abandoned to *chance* and *external contingent causes*, ... a Providence controls it.[47]

God: Religion.

This Good, this Reason, in its most concrete form, is God. God governs the world; the actual working of His Government—the carrying out of His Plan — is the History of the World.[48]

Whatever in the world possesses claim as noble and glorious, has nevertheless an existence above it. The claim of the *World-Spirit* rises above all special claims.[49]

The conception of God, therefore, constitutes the general basis of people's character. In this aspect religion stands in the closest connection with the political principle.[50]

Among the forms of this conscious union (of Art, Law, Morals, Religion, Science) *Religion occupies the highest position.*[51]

Morality : Character.

Subjective volition — Passion — is that which sets men in activity, that which affects practical realization. The Idea is the inner spring of action; the State is the actual existing, realized moral life. For it is the unity of the universal, essential will, with that of the individual; and this is "Morality." The individual living in this unity has a moral life; possesses a value that consists in this substantiality alone. Sophocles in his Antigone says: "The divine commands are not of yesterday, nor of to-day; no, they have an infinite existence, and no one could say whence they came." The laws of morality are not accidental, but are the essentially Rational.[52]

For the *History* of the world *occupies a higher ground than* that on which *morality* has properly its position, which is personal character.......... What the absolute aim of Spirit requires and accomplishes,—*what Providence does — transcends the obligations.* .....They who, on moral grounds and consequently with noble intentions, have resisted that which the advance of the *Spiritual Idea makes necessary*, stand higher in moral worth than those whose crimes have been turned into the means—*under the direction*

47. Idid., p. 416. 48. Ibid., p. 442. 49. Ibid., p. 443.
50. Ibid., p. 458. 51. Ibid., p. 457. 52. Ibid., p. 445.

of a superior principle—of realising the purpose of that principle .. The deeds of great men ..... thus appear not only justified in view of that intrinsic result of which they were *not conscious*, but also from the point of view occupied by the secular moralist.... The *litany of private virtues* — modesty, humility, philanthropy and forbearance — *must not be raised against them. The History of the World might, on principle, entirely ignore the circle within which morality and the so much talked of distinction between the moral and the politic lies.*[53]

Such an abstraction as "good for its own sake" has no place in living reality.[54]

State : Divine Idea.

The *State is the Divine Idea* as it exists on Earth. We have in it, therefore, the object of History in a more definite shape than before.[55]

On this account it is that the *State rests on Religion.*[56]

The form of Religion, therefore, decides that of the State and its constitution.[57]

The origin of a State involves *imperious lordship* on the one hand, *instinctive submission* on the other.[58]

No law can be valid without the approval of *all.* This difficulty is attempted to be obviated by the decision that the *minority must yield to the majority*; the majority, therefore, bears the sway.[59]

The piety of the Family relation should be respected in the highest degree in the State; by its means the State obtains as its members individuals who are already moral.[60]

A State is then well constituted and internally powerful when the *private interest of its citizens is one with the common interest of the State*, when the one finds its gratification and realisation in the other—a proposition in itself very important..*The epoch when a State attains this harmonious condition, marks the period of its bloom, its virtue, its vigour, and its prosperity.*[61]

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53. **Ibid.**, pp. 477-78. 54. **Ibid.**, p. 434. 55. **Ibid.**, p. 446.
56. **Ibid.**, p. 459. 57. **blid.**, p. 459. 58. **Ibid.**, p. 453.
59. **Ibid.**, p. 450. 60. **Ibid.**, p. 449. 61. **Ibid.**, p. 439.

But in the History of the World the individuals we have to deal with are *Peoples*: *Totalities* that are *States*.[62]

The *State* is the actually existing, realised *moral life*. ....It is the absolute interest of Reason that this moral whole should exist; and herein lies the justification and *merit* of heroes who have founded States—however *rude* these may have been. In the History of the World, only those people come under our notice which form a State. For it must be understood that this latter is the realisation of Freedom, i.e. of the absolute final aim.[63]

Freedom and Necessity.

The History of the World is none other than the progress of the consciousness of Freedom.[64]

We have spoken of the *Idea of Freedom* as the Nature of Spirit and the absolute *Goal of History*.[65]

The Union of Universal Abstract Existence generally with the Individual—the Subjective....The question also assumes the form of the Union of Freedom and Necessity; the latest abstract process of Spirit being regarded as Necessity, while that which exhibits itself in the conscious will of men, as their interest, belongs to the domain of Freedom.[66]

Thesis and Anti-thesis.

The epoch when a State attains this harmonious condition, marks the period of its virtue, its vigour, and its prosperity....... Philosophy shows that the Idea advances to an infinite antithesis .... To comprehend the absolute connection of this antithesis is the profound task of metaphysics.[67]

"The idea pays the penalty of determinate existence and of corruptibility not from itself, but from the passions of individuals".[68]

62. **Ibid.**, p. 417. 63. **Ibid.**, p. 445. 64. **Ibid.**, p. 423.

65. **Ibid.**, p. 428. 66. **Ibid.**, pp. 430-31.

67. **Ibid.**, pp. 429-31. The same idea is better expressed in these words: "Each principal epoch develops to an extreme limit its leading idea, and then breeds its opposite or anti-thesis." Quoted by Hamid in his *Interpretation of History*, p. 65.

68. **Hegel's Philosophical History**, p. 439.

Human Nature.

But to explain history is to depict the passions of mankind, the genius, the active powers, that play their part on the great stage and theprovidentially determined process which these exhibit, constitutes what is generally called the "Plan of Providence."[69]

Carlyle: Great Man Theory.

In the Lectures on *Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History* delivered in 1840, Thomas Carlyle developed what is now known as the Great Man Theory of History. Referring to the subject and its scope at the outset, he said:

"A large topic; indeed, an unlimited one; wide as Universal History itself. For, as I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of Thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these.[70]

Great Men taken up in any way, are profitable company. We cannot look, however imperfectly upon a great man, without gaining something by him. He is the living light-fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near......in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them......These Six classes of Heroes, chosen out of widely distant countries and epochs. and in mere external figure differing altogether, ought, if we look faithfully at them, illustrate several things for us. Could we see *them* well, we should get some glimpses into the very marrow of the world's history."[71]

At another place the author has summed up the subject in one sentence:

"The History of the World is but the Biography of great men,"[72]

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69. Ibid., p. 416.

70. Thomas Carlyle: Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History, p. 1. 71. Ibid., p. 2. 72. Ibid., p. 27.

Special Features.

The Six Classes of Heroes, referred to above, are: (1) "the Hero as Divinity, Odin, Paganism, Scandinavian Mythology," (2) "the Hero as Prophet, Mahomet: Islam;" (3) "the Hero as Poet, Dante, Shakespeare;" (4) "the Hero as Priest, Luther: Reformation: Knox; Puritanism;" (5) "the Hero as Man of letters, Johnson, Rousseau, Burns;" and (6) "the Hero as King, Cromwell, Nepoleon: Modern Revolutionism."[73] "The King is the most important of all Great Men, the summary of all the various figures of Heroism," including God and Prophet.[74] According to Carlyle, "all sorts of Heroes are intrinsically of the same material." What is needed, he says, "is a great soul open to the Divine Significance of Life."[75] The milieu moulds the hero into what he is. Thus "the Hero can be Poet, Prophet, King, Priest or what you will, according to the kind of the world he finds himself born into."[76] In the second phase of Hero-worship the Great Man is no longer "regarded as a God among his fellow-men; but as one God-inspired, as a Prophet."[77] Carlyle has not stated what he means by *greatness, and sphere*. Nor is he clear about the word *Worship*.[78]

Soul of Science.

Karl Marx formulated what is krown as "economic theory of history" after a systematic study of the mode of production and other factors that explain the process of growth, material progress or civilization. In 1845 he stated that "to separate history from natural science and industry was like separating soul from the body and finding the birth-

73. Ibid., pp. 1,32, 73, 105. 74. Ibid. p. 181.
75. Ibid., p. 107. 76. Ibid., p. 73. 77. Ibid. p. 49.
78. Ibid., p. 1.

place of history not in gross material production on earth, but in the misty cloud formation of heaven." That dynamic sociology owes a lot to the postulate of Marx is true, but the view that it is an over-all explanation of all human life is wrong.[79]

Buckle: Challenge.

Buckle traced the influence of the material world (soil, food, etc.) on the formation of human society and the shaping of human history. His challenge to the theologian and the historian, who could not produce more than the annalistic record of events and occurrences, etc., raised a storm of protest in all circles in England. He laid stress on the "science of history."[80]

Croce: Significance of History

So far as history is concerned, Croce is said to have been no less keen than Hegel. His views on History are as follows:

> "The Absolute is a history —a history that combines activity with knowledge. The Absolute enacts the world process and at the same time reflects upon it. So, too, in human history we have both events and a knowledge and evaluation of them. The events themselves were human deeds guided by the knowledge of those who performed them. We, if we would also know what has *really* happened, must enter into the past and see it through the eyes of those to whom it was present, and at the same time re-assess it in the light of the future to which it led and in which we now live. The historian both enacts his subject from moment to moment and yet surveys it as a whole — as the Absolute does. He is in his own right the profoundest of philosophers. History needs no philosophy of history, since history is itself philosophy of the nature of the Real."[81]

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79. Shotwell: **History** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica.**

80. **Ibid.** See **History** of **Historical Writing**, Vol. ii, pp. 446-47.

81. A **History of Philosophy,** Vol. ii, pp. 434. 35.

Contemporary Account.

Emphasising the influence of time and space, Croce also states that "all history is contemporary history and that no history can be anything but this." According to Toynbee, what Croce meant was that even the most gifted historians were prisoners of the two influences (time and space) and could not completely break out of their self-centredness.[82]

Gentile: Vision of Truth.

Giovanni Gentile regarded the *world-process* as *Reality*. According to him, "history is a progressive incarnation of God, who is not a person but a perfected world." Fuller and Mc Murrin have summed up his philosophy of history in these words:—

> History is the self-revelation of the nature of the Absolute to itself. Therefore, history is the vision of truth. That is, it is philosophy.[83]

Gentile was also a strong exponent of the view that "any written history inevitably reflects the thought of the author in his time and cultural setting."[84] He proclaimed:—

> Historical science, priding itself on the 'facts', the positive and solid realities, which it contrasts with mere ideas or theories without objective validity, is living in a childish world of illusions.[85]
>
> The historian, in short, knows well enough that life and meaning of past facts is not to be discovered in charters or inscriptions or in any actual relics of the past; their source is in his own personality.[86]

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82. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** pp. 6-8.

83. **A History of Philosophy**, Vol. ii, p. 435.

84. Johnson: **Teaching of History**, pp. 22-23.

85. **Philosophy and History** quoted by Dr. Johnson in his **Teaching of History, p.** 23.

86. **Ibid.**

Cousin: Historical Development.

Cousin (1792-1867) has much in common with his contemporaries, Hegal, Carlyle, Croce, etc. He propounded the plan of history or the theory of historical development in the lectures he delivered at Paris in 1820 before crowded audiences. The lectures covered a wide range. His ideas on history in relation to religion, humanity (great men) and geography are brought out, as far as possible, in his own words and the words of Flint.[87]

Government of God.

The first epoch of humanity begets the second, and the fertile residua of the two first epochs combine to produce the third. Although the different epochs of humanity are wholes which have each a life of its own, humanity itself is an active and productive force which pervades them all, and an organic whole which comprehends them all. The truth of history is therefore not a dead truth, or one confined to any particular age, but a living and growing truth, which comes forth gradually from harmonious work of ages and which is nothing less than the progressive birth of humanity. It is more. History reflects not merely the movement of humanity, but of God's action on and in humanity. It is the Government of God made visible. *And as His Government must be like his character, perfect, everything in history must be in its place, must be reasonable and for the greatest good of all things.* This is M. Cousin's celebrated theory of historical development, stated, as far as possible, in the words of its author.[88]

Great Men: Humanity.

Theorizing on 'great men' at length, Cousin came to the following conclusions: (1) The great man is the 'representative' of the great nation that produces him. (2) He combines universality with individuality like everything "truly sublime and beautiful" and

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87. For details see Flint's **Philosophy of History**, pp. 452, ff.
88. **Ibid.**, pp. 461, 467.

manifests the spirit of the nation and the epoch he belongs to, because he is made of that stuff. (3) Universal history is the biography of great men who 'sum up nations, epochs and humanity.' (4) The great man is the embodiment of the leading idea of his times as long as it has force. (5) The sign of greatness is 'success' accompanied by 'power and glory.' (6) The great man owes his greatness to his 'relation with his people and times'—and 'this alone belongs to history.'' (7)The epoch of the *finite* is favourable for the development of personality and hence it is regarded as 'the heroic age of humanity,' as against the epoch of the *infinite* noted for "the suppression of individuality and liberty." (8) Industry is least conducive to the mainfestation of great men, and war and philosophy are the most favourable spheres, one carrying the idea of the age to the highest expression by elevating the truth and the other by accomplishing extensive conquests with the use of the sword.[89] These ideas about great men closely resemble those of Hegel and Carlyle, and a comparative study of these ideas will be found exceedingly interesting and informative,

Geography.

The importance which Cousin attached to geography may be estimated in the light of his own statement:

> Give me the map of a country—its configuration, its climate its waters, its winds, its natural productions, its botany, its zoology, and all its physical geography—and I pledge myself to tell you what will be the man of this country, and what place this country will occupy in history."[90]

89. Ibid., pp. 474-75. Also see Carlyle's **Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History** and Hegel's **Philosophical History.**

90. Ibid., p. 469.

Macaulay on History.

Lord Macaulay, who is noted for his "glowing distortions", expressed the following views on *history* while writing on Hallam's Constitutional History of England in the *Edenburgh Review* in September, 1828:

History, at least in its state of imaginary perfection, is a compound of poetry and philosophy. It impresses general truths on the mind by a vivid representation of particulars and incidents...Good histories, in the proper sense of the word, we have not. But we have good historical romances and good historical essays. The imagination and the reason, if we may use a legal metaphor, have made partition of a province of literature of which were formerly seised *per my et per tout*; and now they hold their respective portions in severalty, instead of holding the whole in common.[91]

To make the past present, to bring the distant near, to place us in the society of a great man, or on the eminence which ovelrooks the field of a mighty battle, to invest with the reality of human flesh and blood beings who are too much inclined to consider as personified qualities in an allegory...these parts of the duty which properly belongs to the historian have been appropriated by the historical novelist. On the other hand, to extract the philosophy of history, to direct our judgment of events and men, to trace the connection of causes and effects, and to draw from the occurrences of former times general lessons of moral and political wisdom, has become the business of a distinct class of writers.[92]

Of the two kinds of composition into which history has been thus divided, the one may be compared to a map, the other to a painted landscape. The picture, though it places the country before us, does not enable us to ascertain with accuracy the form and dimensions of its component parts, the distances and the angles [93]

Sir Walter Scott gives us a novel; Mr. Hallam a critical and argumentative history. Both are occupied with the same matter. But the former looks at it with the eye of a sculptor.

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91. Hallam's Constitutional History of Englaud, p. 874.
92. Ibid. 93. Ibid.,

His intention is to give an express and lively image of its external form. The latter is an anatomist. His task is to dissect the subject to its inmost recesses, and to lay bare before us all the springs of motion and all the causes of decay.[94]

Miscellaneous Contributions.

A brief mention must also be made here of the historians of Mediaeval Europe who were strengthening the foundations of history by focussing their attention on the sources of information — antiquities, archaeology and archives —, the instruments of research — catalogues, calendars, indices, hand-books and guides —, and methods of preserving paper — vacuum-cleaning, fumigation, lamination, air-conditioning, micro-filming, etc. John Leland was "the father of antiquaries" in England. Thomas Bodley, Mathew Parker and Robert Cotton were responsible for three invaluable collections preserved at Bodleian (Oxford), Corpus Christi (Cambridge) and British Museum (London). It was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that an earnest effort was made to reorganize the national archives lying scattered over not less than fifteen places. It was followed by similar other offorts.[95] While Andre Duchesne (1584-1640-A. C.), the author of *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, stated to be "the first treatise on scientific history", was busy with the "collection of sources", the Benedictine monks of Congregation of St. Maur, it is stated, were laying the foundations of historical criticism on scientific lines. About forty years later, Jean Mabillon's work *De re diplomatica*, a storehouse of legend and biography, better known to the world as *Acta Sanctorum quot-quot toto*, was accepted as a critarion for testing the documents of the

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94. Ibid., p. 875.

95. Shotwell: History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica; Hubert Hall: British Archives, pp. 15, ff.

Middle Ages. Its canons were considered as the basis of the science of *diplomatic* and the toutchstone of the methods of mediaeval research. The instruments of research invented by Mabillon and others were improved and applied in all the archives of Europe. Individual scholars and associations — both national and international — organized archival collections and produced catalogues, calendars, guides, manuals and indices for facilitating reference. Chronology, philology, palaeography, diplomatic, sphragistics, numismatics, epigraphy and archaeology also received the attention they deserved and the result was a revolution in historiography and historical research.[96] Otto of Freising, Aeneas Sylvius, Pius II, Conrade Celtes, Conrade Peutinger and Leibnitz deserve a specific mention among those engaged in the survey and salvage of MSS. and historical documents in Germany. The last-named insisted on keeping the original texts intact and planned the printing of papers as they were and not as corrected. He enriched scientific history with his philosophy which pointed to the law of continuity in phenomena.[97] Finally, the application of 'higher criticism' to historical works was a definite gain for the new discipline or science which also began to benefit from the devices and discoveries, brought about by the Industrial Revolution, in connection with the preservation of paper and economy of space.[98]

Renaissance & Reformation.

The influence of two important movements — the *Renaissance* and the *Reformation* — on the course of history and historical sense in the West was con-

96. Shotwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.** (11th ed.) 97. **Ibid.**

98. H. Jenkinson: **Archive Administration,** pp. 44, ff.; Jaffar: **Problems of an Archivist,** pp. 1, ff.

siderable. The recovery and re-evaluation of original texts, mainly confined to the field of classical literature, under the former, was largely responsible for the awakening of critical sense and scientific spirit, which also extended to the field of history, as is evident from the contemporary chronicles. The latter did far more than the former for the development of historical sense in the West. It toned down the tendency of the humanists to sacrifice truth at the altar of aesthetics and actively encouraged the systematic survey and scrutiny of the sources of knowledge and scientific research. Thus the *Magdaburg Centuries* (1559-1574 A. C.) — an attack of Protestantism on Mediaeval Church — is regarded as the first monument of modern historical research."[99]

Christianity.

Christianity, acclaimed as "a religion of historians" and of "history-writing peoples", appeared as a great force in the West and exerted immense influence on history under Eusebius (270-338 A. C.). Unfortunately, however, the original text of the *Bible* as a revealed book has not come down to us intact and it is not safe to hazard speculations on the basis of the translated version which has undergone so many changes.[100] Nevertheless, its influence even as such on human head and heart cannot be minimized. Professer Thomson Shotwell writes:

> The 4th and 5th centuries saw a great revolution in the history of history. The study of the pagan past slipped out of mind, and in its place was set, by the genius of Eusebius, the story of the world force, which had superseded it, Christianity, and that of small faction of antiquity from which it sprang. —

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99. Shotwell: History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, (11th ed.)

100. Ibid.; Marc Bloch: The Historian's Craft; Thomas Paine: The Age of Reason.

the Jews. Christianity from the first had freed thinking men to reconstruct their philosophy of history; but it was only after the church's triumph that its point of view became dominant on historiography [101]

From the first Christianity had a philosophy of history. Its earliest apologists sought to show how the world had followed a divine plan in its long preparation for the life of Christ. From this central fact of all history, mankind should continue through war and suffering until the divine plan was completed at the Judgment day. The fate of nations is in God's hands; history is the revelation of His wisdom and power. Whether He intervenes directly by miracles, or merely sets His laws in operation, He is master of men's fate. This idea, which has underlain all Christian philosophy of history, from the first apologists who prophesied the fall of the Empire and the coming of the millennium down to our own day, received its classic statement in St. Augustine's City of God. The terrestrial city, whose eternity had been the theme of pagan history, had just fallen before Alaric's Goths. Augustin's explanation of its fall passes in review not only the calamities of Roman history — combined with a pathetic perception of its greatness, — but carries the survey back to the origin of evil at the creation. Then over against this *civitas terrena* he sets the divine city which is to be realized in Christiandom. The Roman Empire, — the last general form of the earthly city, — gives way slowly to the heavenly. This is the main thread of Augustine's philosophy of history. The mathematical demonstration of its truth was left by Augustine for his disciple, Paulus Orosius.[102]

Eusebius.

Eusebius, the author of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *Chronographia*, was "the Father of Church History." According to Flint, "He was a courtier bishop, wanting in strength and reality of character, singleness of heart, vision and strength. He was honest, but not impartial. He loved religion better than truth and conceived of religion in a worldly way. It is easy to explain and even to excuse his faults; it is a duty gratefully to acknowledge his

101. Shotwell: History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

102. Ibid.

services to the cause of Christian learning; but it is difficult to respect and impossible to admire him. The defects of his character have left deep traces in his historical works."[103]

Orosius.

Orosius was a votary of Church History. His monumental work, *Seven Books of Histories against the Pagans*, intended to be a supplement to the *City of God*, marked the beginning of Christian "World History." Packed with war and suffering, it aimed at showing the change the world had witnessed since the coming of Christ. It was followed by the evaluation and scientific treatment of Church documents according to the concepts and standards of those engaged in the endeavour.[104]

Treating the *Old Testament as History*, Professor Shotwell, whom we have quoted above, has expressed the following opinion:

> In contrast with the product of Egypt or Babylonia, the Bible stands as an epoch-making achievement. A composite work of many centuries, filled with much that the historian rejects, it yet embodies the first historical work of genuinely national importance which has come down to us. Higher criticism has robbed it of its unique distinction as a special revelation of Jehovah, denied the historicity of its account of the Creation and destroyed the claim of the patriarchs to be regarded as authentic; the great name of Moses disappears as the author of the Pentateuch and that of David from the book of Psalms; the story of Joseph becomes a romance, the Decalogue a statement of late prophetic ideals; the old familiar books dissolve into their component parts, written at different times and by different hands. In short, a national record, of varying historical reliabi-

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103. Flint: Philosophy of History, pp. 62-63; Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. i, pp. 221, ff.

104. Ibid.

lity, has replaced the Bible of the churches, of stately uniform test and unvarying authority.[105]

Higher criticism, viewing the texts historically at last reveals their setting in their own time and place, and presents them as a national product instead of a record of creation in the words of the Creator. For the former it is adequate, for the latter no doctrinal apologies could save it from the shafts of ridicule.[106]

We conclude our account of Christian contribution to the cause of history with the comments of Robert Flint, based on a critical study :

Christianity by creating the Church enormously enlarged and enriched history. It thereby opened up a central and exhaustless vein in the mine of human nature,—set in movement a main stream in the flow of human affairs. The rise of ecclesiastical history was more to historiography than was the discovery of America to geography. It added immensely to the contents of history, and radically changed man's conception of its nature. It at once caused political history to be seen to be only a part of history, and carried even into the popular mind the conviction—of which hardly a trace is to be found in the classic historians—that all history must move towards some general human end, some divine goal.[107]

Christianity almost spontaneously and inevitably produced a sort of philosophy of history; but a philosophy excessively one-sided, owing to the life of society on earth being viewed so exclusively in religion and eternity, that the interests of time, and the significance of industry, commerce and wealth, almost faded out of sight.[108]

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105. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History**, pp. 75-80.

106. **Ibid.**, p. 81. Also see **The Age of Reason** by Thomas Paine; and **An Historian's Approach to Religion** by Toynbee.

107. Robert Flint: **Philosophy of History**, p. 62.

108. **Ibid.**, p. 38. Also see **A History of Historical Writing** by J. W. Thompson, Vol. i, pp. 122, ff.

Chapter IV

HISTORY AS HALLUCINATION

Introductory.

The theme of the thesis presented in the chapter on Views and Verdicts on History and their Validity is carried further in this chapter, certain trends and tendencies in the History of History are noted with special reference to Islamic Ideology and Greek Thought and it is maintained on the basis of authentic evidence adduced in support that a great deal of what has passed for history is nothing more than hallucination. What is stated on the basis of specific data in support of the trends and tendencies pertaining to particular persons and peoples, periods and places is generally true and holds good in almost all other cases of the same class or category.

Hypocrisy.

No movement, political or religious, can be said to have escaped the onslaughts of its enemies from within as well as from without. The enemies from within (hypocrites) have always proved more dangerous than the avowed enemies outside for obvious reasons. That the scoundrels had found their last refuge in the fold of Islam as early as the lifetime of the Holy Prophet is borne out by the *Surah Munafiqun*, which is wholly devoted to the evil intentions and activites of this treacherous group.[1] The hypocrites are referred to as *liers*, *evil-doers*,

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1. Al-Quran, xxiii.

transgressors and *enemies* who will not be forgiven by God. The faithful are warned to guard against them.[2] That they were responsible for most of the tragedies enacted in the Muslim World goes without saying, but their identity cannot be established without the help of history as it ought to be.

Secularization of State.

The separation of the State from its spiritual source was a sin for which we are suffering. It was tantamount to the separation of soul from body or, in our own context, of religion from history. On the one hand, it removed the restraint under which the State had to exist and work, and on the other it opened up the flood-gates of selfishness leading to what is significantly styled as "spiritual vacuum" in the West.[3] Though the appendage of *Khilafat* (Caliphate) continued as a fiction for a long time, the separation of State from its spiritual source was a *fait accompli* at a far early date. The catastrophic conditions, culminating in the Tragedy of Karbala and what followed, have left a lasting impression on the heart of human history.[4] Iqbal has summed up the situation in one couplet which means that the separation of the State (*Khilafat*) from the *Quran* was a death-blow to the cause of Freedom.[5] Imam Ghazali (450-505 A. H.) has portrayed the picture of the contemporary conditions of the Muslim world in these words:

The world is without the erudite (*Ulama*), the heirs of the Prophets (peace be on them!), who can show the right path.

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2. Ibid.

3. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** p. 202; Al-Ghazali: **Ahya-ul-Ulum, Preface.**

4. Jaffar: **Al-Husain — The Hero of Humanity.**

5. See page 22, foot-note 27.

Most of the conventional people (so-called *Ulama*), who have remained, are under the influence of devil (Satan). Their recalcitrance has led them astray. They are all interested in their immediate gains. Generally, they take good for bad and bad for good. The knowledge of the faith has grown old (decayed) and the traces of guidance have been obliterated from the surface of the earth. They have taught the people that *Knowledge* is either the *Fatwas* (commands) of Government which help those invested with powers to settle the cases of bad people or the art of argumentation (*Munazira* or war of wits) employed by the self-seekers as a means of ensuring their own success and silencing their opponents, or the skill of embellishing sermons with set words and phrases — a method followed by professional preachers (*Waizin*), for they found no effective artifice of enticing the world better than these three types. The knowledge of the next world and the path pursued by the pious people of the past vanished without leaving a vestige behind, notwithstanding the fact that Allah in His Holy Book has called it *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Hikmat* (philosophy and science), *Ilm* (knowledge), *Zaya* (lustre), *Nur* (light), *Hidayat* (guidance), and *Rushd* (mature wisdom). As this is an intolerable intrusion and a colossal catastrophe, the revivification of the sciences of religion (*Ahya-ul-Ulum-id-din*) has become imperative.[6]

The truth of what Al-Ghazali has stated can be gleaned through the mass of historical literature that has come down to us but only after considerable painstaking research,[7] for it has suffered heavily at the hands of the *Homo sapiens* in the course of creation and transmission.

Fabrication of Ahadis.

There could be no greater disservice to the cause of Islam and Islamic History than the fabrication of thousands of sayings and their attribution to the Holy Prophet. Most of the sayings were coined by the Godless people for justifying their own conduct or the conduct of their powerful patrons by demonstrat-

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6. Al Ghazali: **Ahya-ul-Ulum-id-din, Preface.**

7. For instance, see Sayuti's **Tarikh-ul-Khulafa.** pp. 305, ff.

ing the same conduct in the sayings and attributing it to the Holy Prophet. Referring to such sayings, Shah Wali-ullah has stated:

> They were coined and given currency by Godless and reckless people who were so skilled in the articulation of evidence that no one could dare question their authenticity. The language employed is of such a high standard that *prima facie* they appear to be actually the sayings of the Holy Prophet. These (so-styled) *Ahadis* constitute a colossal catastrophe and misfortune. But those endowed by God with the expert knowledge of *Hadis* can find out that they are fabrications, manufactured for deceiving the Musalmans.[8]

Allama Shibli Nomani, who made a special study of the subject, came to the following conclusion:

> 'Of all the external causes which influence historiography and reporting, the most powerful is that of Government. But Musalmans will always feel proud, with reason, that their pen never succumbed to the sword. The *Ahadis* were systematized during the ascendancy of the Omayyades who humiliated the House of Fatima in the *Jami Masjids* from Sind to Asia Minor and Andulasia for full ninety years, caused curses to be pronounced on *Hazrat* Ali from the pulpits on Fridays, got thousands of *Ahadis* coined in favour of Amir Muawiya, etc. and had prophecies incorporated into the *Ahadis* in praise of each and every *Khalifa* during the Abbasid ascendancy. What was the result? In that very age the specialists in *Ahadis* publically proclaimed that all of them were fabrications. To-day the art of *Ahadis* is free from that rot, so that the Omayyades and the Abbasids — the so-styled Shadows of God and successors of the Holy Prophet — are seen at the places where they ought to have been.[9]

It must be remembered here that even after observing all the rules framed for the evaluation of evidence and applying all the canons of criticism evolved for the purpose and discarding a large number of

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8. Shah Wali-ullah: **Hujjat-ullah-ul-Baligha,** Vol. i, p. 628. Also see p. 581·

9. Shibli: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. i, pp. 66-67.

what were regarded as *Mauzuat* or forgeries, the most carefully compiled collections are not free from serious flaws. Needless to add that forgeries have frequently formed the foundations of vilification of virtue on the one hand and vindication of vice on the other.[10]

Invention of History.

Allama Shibli has rightly referred to *Government* as the most powerful factor that influenced the collection and compilation of *Ahadis* during the Omayyade ascendancy. History cannot be said to have escaped that powerful factor when the *Hadis* of the Holy Prophet could not. What is true of the *Hadis* is more appropriately true of History. While vigorous efforts were made by well-known traditionists, according to their own lights, to rid the collections of *Ahadis* of the rot incorporated therein by interested persons and parties, no such attempt has so far been made by any historian to weed out such matter from history. The result is the occasional outburst of malice and enmity against the Founder of the Faith and his followers, based on so-called history.[11]

Loose Terminology.

Historians and students of history have continued to use certain words or terms without precision. We have already commented upon the use of the words *culture* and *civilization*.[12] Other loose expressions are *ancient*, *mediaeval* and *modern*. This division of time or partition of period is arbitrary and one does not know the precise beginning and end of each. The use of *Muhammadanism* for *Islam* and of *Muhammadan* for *Muslim* is also unwarranted.

10. pp. 21 ff. 11. Ibid. 12. Ibid.

The words *Arab*, *Muhammadan*, *Islamic* and *Muslim* are used as synonyms. "There is a tendency", says Dr. Qureshi, "to think that the history of the Arab world alone is Islamic history." According to him, Islamic history comprises the history of the Arab (Muslim) world, the history of the Muslim countries outside and the history of the large Muslim minorities scattered all over the world.[13] It may also be added that it cannot exclude the history of the small minorities and even individual Muslims who made history and left a lasting impression on the age they belonged to. There is a growing tendency also to use the words *Islam* and *Islamic* rather loosely, out of context and without reference to Islamic Ideology based on the *Holy Quran*. Too often the word *Islam* is taken to mean more than what it actually means and stands for. Thus, we come across such strange expressions as "Indian Islam,"[14] "New Islam," "Political Islam,"[15] "Modern Islam," "present-day development of Islam," "Classical Islam," "Islamic Reformation,"[16] "Renaissance of Islam"[17] and "Qanoon-e-Islam."[18] The expression "Indian Islam" leads one to think of Persian Islam, Egyptian Islam and so on. If there is "New Islam," it follows that there is *Old Islam* also. If there is "Modern Islam", it implies that there was *Mediaeval*

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13. Qureshi: **Address on Islamic History** in the **Colloquium on Islamic Culture** at Princeton, pp. 27-28.

14. **Indian Islam** by **Titus.**

15. Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht: **The New Islam in India (The Muhammadan World of To-day)**, pp. 187, ff.; Rev. Andrew Watson: **Islam in Egypt**, p, 27.

16. Smith: **Islam in Modern History**, pp. 47, 117, 165.

17. A MEZ: **Die Renaissance des Islams**, translated by S. K. Bakhsh as **The Renaissance of Islam.**

18. See **Contents of Qanoon-e-Islam** by **Jaffar Shurreef.**

Islam as well. The cumulative effect of all this is that there are so many Islams. All this militates against truth. It is calculated to create confusion and cast clouds over it. Likewise, the expressions "Islamic Reformation" and "development of Islam" are incongruous in that they give an impression that Islam is subject to transformation, which is wrong. We can, however, speak of the development of Islam in the sense that the Divine Faith has developed with the development of humanity in accordance with the Divine Plan. *The Qanoon-e-Islam* comprises the "Customs of the Mussulmans of India" — their various rites and ceremonies from the moment of birth till the hour of death, including those opposed to Islam. Likewise, the word *Islamic* is freely and frequently applied to political institutions, artistic executions, architectural achievements, etc. of Muslim people. Thus the so-styled Islamic States, Islamic Culture, Islamic Civilization, Islamic Arts, Islamic Architecture, Islamic Literature, etc. betray un-Islamic and even anti-Islamic influences: for, as already stated, not all that the followers of Islam conceived and created need necessarily be *Islamic* in the strict sense of the word.[19] Such an haphazard use of the words *Islam* and *Islamic* is bad, because it is likely to mislead many by giving a false impression about Islam and its ideology. The error originated with Western scholars and has been unconsciously repeated by Muslim writers. They have mistaken *Islam* and *Islamic Culture* for material progress and prosperity — civilization. Rosenthal says that, "understood in a restricted cultural sense", the term *Muslim* "refers to the great civilization which took shape in Damascus and Bagdad from the seventh century to the tenth century A. D. Its formative elements were derived from many civilizations, languages, peoples, and

19. See page 22.

religions." At another place he calls it "Islamic Civilization."[20] Briffault's concept of Islam, Islamic Culture and Arab Civilization may be quoted to illustrate the point:

> Science is the most momentous contribution of Arab civilization in the modern world............ Other and manifold influences from the *civilization of Islam* communicated its first glow to European life.
>
> For although there is not a single aspect of European growth in which the decisive influence of *Islamic Culture* is not traceable, nowhere is it so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the permanent distinctive force of the modern world and the *supreme source of its victory—natural science* and the *scientific spirit.*
>
> What we call science arose in Europe as a result of a new spirit of inquiry, of new methods of investigation, of the method of experiment, observation, measurement, of the development of Mathematics in a form unknown to the Greeks...That spirit and those methods were introduced into European world by the *Arabs.*[21]

Among others, Allama Iqbal has reproduced these passages in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.*[22] It is apparent that the words *Arab*, *Islam* and *Islamic*, as used by Briffault, refer to the contributions made by the Muslims to the cause of science and secular studies. How far they were inspired by Islam and Islamic Ideology may be judged in the light of the contemporary picture painted by Al-Ghazali in the *Preface* of his *Ahya-ul-Ulum-id-din.*[23] Even if it is conceded that they were inspired by Islam and Islamic Ideology, it will be the height of injustice to confine the compass of Islam and the concept of Islamic Culture to material progress and prosperity to the exclusion of spiritual and moral

20. Rosenthal : **A History of Muslim Historiography**, pp. 9-7, 28, 171-72.
21. Briffault: **The Making of Humanity**, pp. 109, 190, 202.
22. Iqbal: **The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam**, pp. 130-31.
23. See pages 89-90.

values. Such a civilization will be without soul. It will be recalled that the pre-Islamic period of Arabia, which has elicited enviable encomiums from experts, is described in the *Holy Quran* as the Age of Ignorance or the Days of Darkness on account of Godlessness.[24] Likewise, the present-day progress of the West without reference to religion is accompanied by what is called "spiritual vacuum," as we shall presently see.[25] In the East the materialistic tendencies were responsible for the separation of the *Khilafat* from the *Holy Quran* and in the West the same forces were responsible for the "deposition" of God and the installation of the "goddess" of Technology in the "vacant seat."[26] Thus, the East and the West alike suffered heavily by neglecting religion and concentrating on material advance.

Objectivity and Subjectivity.

Two other terms which have become almost illusory are *Objectivity* and *Subjectivity*, the former being more frequently used and eulogized in connection with good history. So far as the first term is concerned, we are familiar with such phrases as "to stick to facts", "let facts speak for themselves", "to take a detached view", etc., unconsciously forgetting that evidence is not a sound-record and the historian is not a gramophone machine and that subjectivity asserts itself in spite of all efforts to eliminate it. It will be realized that behind the facts on record is a force that makes the facts speak—the historian, the stamp of whose personality can be traced throughout his work—in the collection, selection, collation and interpretation of facts and even in the choice and use of the language and the words employed for expression. Geyl slightly overstated the influence of subjectivity when he wrote: "In using his material,

24. See p. 38. 25. See pp. 97, ff. 26. See pp. 97, ff.

by choosing from it, ordering it and interpreting it, the historian is bound to introduce an element of subjectivity, that is, he will tamper with or detract from the absolute, unchanging truth", and that "the most that one can hope for is a partial rendering, an approximation, of the real truth about the past." Gooch says: "While facts are historical, interpretations are purely subjective."[27] Common experience confirms that a good deal of objectivity can be attained in the collection, selection and presentation of material but not in the expression of free judgment which is governed by subjectivity, dependent upon personal character. In a way, objectivity is also influenced by subjectivity, for only an historian of strong character can attain it to a degree. What is needed, therefore, is a high standard of character to qualify one as historian.

Religious Indifference.

There is an increasing inclination to ignore religion or, at any rate, to assign it a nominal place in practical life on the alleged ground that it is something irrational, illogical and inexplainable—that which cannot face the rigours of scientific criticism. Hence it is argued that religion should be restricted to the 'City of God' and that it should remain outside the 'City of Man' —the scope of human experience—history. The *Ultimate*, the *Infinite* and the *Grand Mystery* are declared as 'outside human experience'. Serious students and scholars find themselves on the horns of a dilemma while dealing with the history of religions in which they frequently come across myths and miracles which they cannot reconcile with reason. What is the place of a myth or a miracle in history? What is the difference between a myth and a miracle? What is the worth of a subject that has

27. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History**, pp. 62-63; Gooch: **History and Historians of the 19th Century**, p. xxxi.

sprung up from the tail of mythology? These are some of the questions with which the readers and writers of history are confronted. They cannot distinguish between a myth and a miracle. They reject them both outright as flights of fancy or inventions employed by the self-seekers to overawe their opponents and to enlist the support of the credulous. "Credulity is a natural attitude of mind, criticism is one of the most difficult acquisitions of culture." The clash between credulity and criticism has been a common characteristic of humanity since the dawn of human consciousness. "There is almost universal complaint that Philosophy is injurious to Theology. Yet, on the other hand, it is certain that Theology is harmful to Philosophy."[28] The problem posed here will be probed into in its proper place.

Glorification of Past.

The tendency to glorify the past even at the cost of truth is also gaining ground. Part of undue glorification has been occasioned by a strong reaction against the wilful vilification of what was meritorious and hence praiseworthy,[29] and part by a desire to flatter vanity. History has ample material for the glorification of the past, but most of it has been ignored or misinterpreted for one reason or the other. Even the darkest pages of history present the brightest side of the picture when put in proper perspective. Is not the Tragedy of Karbala the blackest spot on the face of human history in the sense that it deals with the most callous and cowardly misdeeds ever perpetrated by the *Homo sapiens?* And yet, is it not the brightest chapter of human history in the

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28. See Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History,** pp. 19, 315-16; Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** pp. 173, ff., 188, ff.

29. Qureshi: **Address on Islamic History in the Colloquium on Islamic Culture,** p. 27.

sense that it was responsible for the everlasting stay of Islam and all it stands for?[30] Why not tell the truth and derive genuine and well-merited pleasure?

Lack of Logic.

Objectionable acts and inhuman activities are justified by some on the ground that they were foretold by the Holy Prophet and that they had to happen even if those responsible for them had tried to refrain from them. They are given credit by some for doing so because if they had not done so, the prophecies of the Prophet would not have proved true. If that is the logic behind such deeds, then all that the forces of Evil are doing is pre-ordained or, at any rate, is within the knowledge of All-knowing God, for the Divine Vision comprehends far more than the Prophetic Vision; and when everything is pre-ordained, is it not futile to think of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, Truth and Falsehood? Those who subscribe to this ill-founded view must know that man, endowed with all the faculties of judging between good and bad and the discretion to do this and to refrain from that, is responsible for his words and deeds.[31]

Force of Accretions.

The force of time-honoured traditions and age-long accretions, which have got attached to history under official pressure and under the influence of other factors, is so strong and sustained that even the most convincing evidence is rejected on the allegation that it is biassed and the greatest authorities quoted in support on other occasions are often

30. Gibbon: The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. v, pp. 286, ff.; Jaffar: Al-Husain: The Hero of Humanity.

31. Al-Quran, vi : 164, x: 99, xvii: 70, ff. ; xlii : 30, xc: 8-10.

declared as fallible. This is particularly true in the case of sectarian questions. Sect is defended even at the cost of truth and principles are violated on the pretext of policy. Those whose vision is blurred to such an extent have cast a covering on realities and turned lot of history into hallucination.[31]

Other Trends.

Historical novels, containing facts and fiction; unacknowledged statements; volumes and works without reference to the authorities cited or consulted in the form of foot-notes and bibliography; plagiarism, involving violent infringement of copyright, etc. have also disfigured history and detracted from its importance and authenticity in several cases.

"Spiritual Vacuum."

Those who have studied the problem in the West have traced the root-cause of the trouble, which is summed up in two words '*Spiritual Vacuum.*' According to Professor Toynbee, this "spiritual vacuum in Western soul" was created by "the deconsecration of Western life" which itself "was largely due to Technology."[32] He has held that "Religion is an essential element in Human Life which cannot be ignored or repressed for very long at a time." He states that "the twentieth-century spiritual crisis in the West was already implicit in the 17th-century spiritual crisis'[33] and cites the following contemporary evidence in support of his statement:

It is pitiful to see so many Turks, heretics, and infidels following in their fathers' track, for the sole reason that each has been conditioned to believe that this track is the best. This

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31. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 263, 277, ff. (As-Sahawi : **I'lan**). 32. **Ibid.**, pp. 202, 208.

33. **Ibid., pp. 188, ff., 208, ff., 213, ff.**

accident of birth is also what decides everyone's condition in life, making one man a locksmith, another man a soldier, etcetera.

The best account that many can give of their belief, is, that they were bred in it; which indeed is no better than that, which we call, the Woman's Reason. And thousands of them, whom their profession and our charity styles Christians, are driven to their Religion by custom and education, as the Indians are to Baptism; that is, like a drove of Cattle to the water. And, had our Stars determin'd our nativities among the Enemies of the Cross, and theirs under a Christian horoscope, in all likelyhood Antichristianism had not been the object of our aversion, nor Christianity of theirs: But we should have exchanged the Scene of our belief with that of our abode and breeding."

There being but one truth, one way to Heaven,[34] what is there that mere men would be led into it if they had no rule but the religion of the Court, and were put under the necessity to quit the light of their own reason, and oppose the dictates of their own consciences, and blindly to resign themselves up to the will of the governors, and to the religion which either ignorance, ambition, or superstition had chanced to establish in the countries where they were born? In the variety and contradiction of opinions in Religion, wherein the princes of the World are as much divided as in their secular interests, the narrow way would be much straitened; one country alone will be in the right, and all the rest of the World put under an obligation of following their princes in the ways that lead to destruction; and, that which heightens the absurdity and very ill suits the notion of a Deity, men would owe their eternal happiness or misery to the places of their nativity. [35]

The way of authority necessarily leads individuals to be Mahometans in Turkey, pagans in China, and (in fact,) everywhere and always (to be adherents) of the national religion.'

There is an almost universal complaint that Philosophy is injurious to Theology. Yet, on the other hand, it is certain that Theology is harmful to Philosophy. Here are two faculties that would find some difficulty in agreeing on the delimitation of the frontier between them, if this question were not well and truly

34. Cf. "Absolute Reality is a Mystery to which there is more than one approach." See Toynbee : **An Historian's Approach to Religion, pp. 257-58.**

35. "Accident of birth" is not the sole determinant of man's place in this world. His own will and work also play a conspicuous part in his life.

settled, as it is, by the way of authority, which is always in favour of the interests of Religion.

They (the Greek and Roman gods) have been disposed of, as soon as one makes the assumption that, sooner or later, age kills false doctrines. Please note, though, that this principle would be capable of serving as valid evidence only on condition that one gives some ruling about what is the minimum length of time that is sufficient for discriminating between errors and truths. If a millennium is sufficient, then any opinion that has ten centuries to its credit will be veritable; but if you do not enact any statute of limitations, then you will get nowhere by arguing that, because a dogma has lasted for four thousand years, it ought therefore to rank as being the undubitably true: in reasoning in this way you will be leaving the future out of account: you cannot tell whether the fifth millennium may not be the death of a dogma which has held its own against the previons millennia.[36]

Quest for Truth.

Convinced of the indivisible unity of Truth and fed up with the fiction of religion as it was, the seventeenth-century thinkers of the West turned to "the methods, of observation and experiment" in their quest for Truth, but missed the mark. Here again, Professor Toynbee has supported his argument with contemporary evidence which is well worth quotation in this connection:

Wisdom is the daughter of Experience.

Truth is the only daughter of time.

Experience never misleads; what you are misled by is only your judgments, [37] and these mislead you by anticipating results from experience of a kind that is not produced in your experiments.

Instead of making this instance into a general rule, verify it two to three times over, and watch whether these several verifications do produce similar results.

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36. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp.188-90.

37. See pages 19, ff. See also **The International Library of Famous Literature**, Vol. viii, pp. 4795, ff. "We all play God in judging." Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft**, pp. 138, ff.

All knowledge is to be got the same way that a language is: by industry, use, and observation.

Such a philosophy they would build, which should first wholly consist of action and intelligence before it be brought into teaching and contemplation.

If we enquire the reason, why the Mathematicks, and Mechanicle Arts, have so much got the start in growth of other sciences: We shall find it probably resolv'ed into this, as one considerable cause: that their progress hath not been retarded by that reverential aw of former discoveries, which hath been so great an hinderance to Theoretical improvements. (*sic*)

There is no certainty in the sciences where there is not a possibility of applying one of the mathematical sciences, or in the case of their not being united with the mathematical sciences.

It cannot be denied that it is rare to find any great religious devotion in people who have once tasted (the enchantment of) the study of mathematics and have made any remarkable progress in this province of Science. [38]

Outcome.

When these observations and experiments were applied to Christianity, the result was the Reformation and all that accompanied it; when they were directed towards learning and literature, what followed was the Renaissance; when canalized into physical phenomena, the outcome was the Industrial Revolution; and when diverted towards Ruling Authority, the result was the Secularization of the State. God was "deposed in Western Christiandom towards the close of the seventeenth century"[39] The observations and experiments, applied to other fields, were not extended to the comparative study of religions and no other religion was given a trial. In short, no effort was made to ascertain the truth and the "spiritual -

38. Toynbee: An Historian's Approach to Religion, pp. 190-192.

39. Ibid., pp. 226-28.

vacuum" was filled first by "the deified parochial community", then by the "oecomenical empire" and finally by the "goddess" of Technology. Thus the "unsolved religious problem" remained unsolved. [40] Those who have surveyed the situation and felt the pulse of humanity in the West have resorted to the litany of lamentations. Tracing the trend of historical thought in the West, Oswald Spengler writes:

> Consequently, Classical history down to the Persian wars and for that matter the structure built on traditions at much later periods, are the product of an essentially mythological thinking.[41]

Spengler concurs with Mommsen in defining the West-European attitude towards that history by saying that the Roman historians", meaning Tacitus in particular, "were men who said what it would have been meritorious to omit, and omitted what it was essential to say." [42]

The effect of mythology on man's mind in the past has been so strong and deep-seated that Professor Toynbee, who has made a special study of the subject, has come to an identical conclusion in these words:

> History, like the drama and the novel, grew out of mythology, a primitive form of apprehension and expression in which—as in fairy tales listened to by children or in dreams dreamt by sophisticated adults—the line between fact and fiction is left undrawn.[43]

Geyl confirms the above conclusions when he says:

> History and myth, are almost inextricably mixed. Man, after all, is not governed by reason alone and the myth, springing from affections or hatreds, has a vitality of its own. It is a form of life. No doubt the historian can be so wrapped up in a myth of his own day that he does not recognise it as such; his history will suffer from it.[44]

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40. **Ibid.**, pp. 202-203, 208.
41. Spengler: **The Decline of the West, Introduction**, p. 10.
42. **Ibid.**, p. 11. 43. Toynbee: **A Study of History**, p. 44.
44. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History**, pp. 76-77.

Deplorable Historiography.

Surveying the state of historiography with special reference to data and documentation, evidence and evaluation, forgeries and fabrications, vision and verdict in the Middle Ages, Professor T. Shotwell writes:

> Utterly lacking in perspective, and dominated by the idea of the miraculous, they are for the most part a record of the trivial or the marvellous. Individual historians sometimes recount the story of their own times with sober judgment, but seldom know how to test their sources when dealing with the past. Contradictions are often copied down without the writer noticing them; and since the middle ages forged and falsified so many documents,—monasteries, towns and corporations gaining privileges or titles of possession by the bold use of them,—the narrative of mediaeval writers cannot be relied upon unless we can verify it by collateral evidence. Some historians like Otto of Freising, Guibert of Nogent or Bernard Gui would have been scientific if they had had our appliances for comparison. But even men like Roger Bacon who deplored the inaccuracy of texts, had worked out no general method to apply to their restoration.... [45]

We are further informed that 'none of the *philosophe* historians—neither Hume nor Gibbon—supplied any constructive principle as a substitute for the *Providence* that was *rejected.*' Professor Shotwell has summed up the position in these words:

> History became the tragic spectacle of a game of dupes, the real movers being priests, kings or warriors. The pawns slowly acquired reason, and then would be able to regulate the moves themselves.[46]

According to Peiter Geyl: "History is a conserving power," which has also "served as a weapon in party strife," which has been "ransacked for material that might support the case of one side or discredit the past doings of long defunct leading

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45. Shotwell: History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

46. Ibid.

personalities of the other," which has "proved herself to be the servant of every ruler of either of the two sides of every conflict," which has supplied "facts to suit every party as long as it could ask for them with a show of power," and of which the facts have turned out to be "the merest foppery."[47]

In his essay *About the Usefulness and Harmfulness of History* Nietzsche hated history because "it was becoming a bottleneck in the way of human progress and a menace to the freedom of man's soul." His argument was: "For, what man needs to do great things, what people need in order to ripen, is the shattering of cloud of illusion and it is this that history, as now practised, is out to dispel."[48]

"Summarizing depreciation current among the the philosophers of his day," says Geyl, "Gibbon observed:'history is indeed little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind.' He adds that it is "the slush and nonsense, the pillage and carnage, which we have glorified as history" and concludes that Professor Rene Harding has been regarded as "a man of brilliant and daring mind for resigning his chair of history on learning the truth of the hopeless idiocy of human activities *solemnly recorded* by historians." [49]

Louis Blanc (1813-82) struck not a dissimilar discordant note in his famous *Histoire de la Revolution Francaise* when he expressed the following opinion about history:

History nowhere begins or ends. The facts which compose the contents of the movement of the world

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47. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History**, pp. 10-11, 17.

48. **Ibid.**, pp. 52, 54-55.

49. **Ibid.**, p. 49.

exhibit such confusion, and their relations with one another are so obscure, that neither the first cause nor the final issue of any event can be indicated with certainty. Their beginning and ending are in God—that is, in the unknown.[50]

Decline of the West.

This is the title of the theme of the massive work of an eminent philosopher-historian who had studied the situation and lodged a protest against the narrow vision and self-centredness of the West. The following few passages will suffice to support the thesis he maintained:

Narrow Vision.

The ground of West Europe is treated as a steady pole, a unique patch chosen on the surface of the sphere for no better reason, it seems, than because we live on it—and great histories of millennial duration and mighty far-away Culures are made to revolve around this pole in all modesty. It is a quaintly conceived system of sun and planets! We select a single bit of ground as the natural centre of the historical system, and make it the central sun. From it all the events of history receive their real light, from it their importance is judged in *perspective*. But it is in our own West-European conceit alone that this phantom "world-history," which a breath of scepticism would dissipate, is acted out.[51]

It is self-evident that for the Culture of the West the existence of Athens, Florence or Paris is more important than that of Lo-Yang and Pataliputra. But is it possible to found a scheme of world-history on estimates of such a sort? If so, then the Chinese historian is quite entitled to frame a world-history in which the Crusades, the Renaissance, Caeser and Frederick the Great are passed over in silence as insignificant.[52]

It is quite indefensible method of presenting world-history to begin by giving rein to one's own religious, political or social convictions and endowing the sacrosanct three-phase system ("ancient-mediaeval-modern") with tendencies that will bring it exactly to one's own standpoint.[53]

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50. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, p. 437.

51. Spengler: **The Decline of the West**, Vol. i, p. 17.

52. **Ibid.**, p. 17. 53. **Ibid.**, p. 20.

When Hegel declared so naively that he meant to ignore those peoples which did not fit into his scheme of history, he was making only an honest avowal of methodic premises that every historian finds necessary for his purpose and every historical work shows in its lay-out. In fact it has now become an affair of scientific tact to determine which historical developments shall be *seriously* taken into account and which not. Ranke is a good example.[54]

Unfortunately, this requires an interpretation of the Picture of Classical history very different from the incredibly one-sided. superficial, prejudicial, limited picture that we have in fact given to it.[55]

Illustration.

The Historians' History of the World, published by the *London Times* in twenty-five volumes under the editorship of Dr. Henry Smith Williams in 1907 affords an excellent illustration of the theme presented by Spengler in his work and the criticism contained in the passages cited above. In principle this prodigious production on a symposial plan professes to be "broad-gauged, impartial, cosmopolitan" and opens wth a well-merited emphasis on "the unity of history", but in practice it presents a complete contrast. The book falls far short of the standard it has laid before itself. For instance: "Freedom from prejudice in every field" — "Whatever concerns mankind is of interest to me" — "Catholicity of taste" — "Fortunately the study of world history in itself tends to make for precisely such impartiality" — "Comprehensive History of Human Progress in all departments of action and of thought in the words of the greatest historical writers, remote, recent and contemporary" —"Unity of Action" — "Historic Truth"— "Unity of Time" — "Age of Man" — "Our Stage, the World."[56] Parts of Volumes I, II, VIII deal with

54. **Ibid.**, p. 22. 55. **Ibid.**, p, 27.

56. **Historians' History of the World**, Vol. i, pp. 1, ff.

the history of the East and the rest of the work is devoted to the history of Europe and America.[57] Does it not mean that the whole world is wound up in the West? With regard to "the cosmopolitanism of the contributors", applied as a guard against "provincialism", we are assured in the Introduction:

> Our contributors represent the scholarship of many nations. Professors Cheyne, Pelham, Oman, Tout, Messrs. Browning, Chisholm and Barwick, and Drs. Garnett and Gairdner are British; Professors Erman, Meyer, Von Wilamowitz-Mollendorff, Harnack, Hirschfield and Noldeke are Germans; Professors Halevy and Rambaud are Frenchmen; Professors Von Krones and Muller are Austrians; Professors Vambery and Goldziher are Hungarians; Dr. Rappoport is a Russian, Professors Shotwell, MacLaughlin. Hart, and Jones are Americans. Similarly, the large company of less famous editorial collaborators, literary readers and critics, and translators, are of various nationalities — British, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Hebrew, and American.[58]

What is the place of the East in this scheme? Where are the Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Persians, Egyptians, Arabs and others? The chapters on *History and Historians* are devoted exclusively to the histories and historians of the West and no mention is made of the contribution of the East. Even Allama Ibn Khaldun does not figure in the list of historians and the *Kitab-ul-Ibar* in the list of world-histories. An important point about this work is that finding fault with another world-history with reference to "disproportionate treatment" and allotment of undue space to certain places and periods, it states: "Where such inconsistencies are permitted, there is a danger that the alleged world-history will become rather the history of a single nation in its relations to other nations, past and present, than an impar-

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57. Ibid. (See Contents of all Vols.) 58. Ibid., p. 15.

tial presentation of the history of nations as a whole."[59] Yet most of the defects it aimed to drive out are there. In its form and stature as well as in its lay-out, it is a history of Western nations and not of "nations as a whole," as claimed, for the space allotted to and the scope provided for the history of the East is deplorably too dwarf and the long list of "the greatest historical writers, remote, recent and contemporary," does not include a single soul from the East. These two lapses are a sufficient indication of the manner in which the material relating to the history of the East must have been handled. *The Historians' History of the West* was, therefore, the proper title of that work. Another interesting point about it is that it was published *after* the publication of *The Decline of the West* by Spengler and in the face of the criticism contained therein. Two other instances of the same type are *The Story of the Nations* in 56 volumes and *The International Library of Famous Literature* in 20 volumes. They confirm the criticism contained in Spengler's *The Decline of the West. A History of Historical Writing* written in 2 volumes by Professor James Westfall Thompson with the collaboration of B. J. Holm, is another work of the same standard but smaller scope. Of the 54 Chapters, comprising the 2 volumes, only three, viz. Chapters I and LVI—*The Ancient Orient*—and Chapter XX—*Arabic, Persian and Mongol Historians in the Middle Ages*—, are allotted to the East. Similarly, Professor James T. Shotwell's *Introduction to the History of History* consists of 27 Chapters, of which only two, viz. Chapter V—*Egyptian Annals*—and Chapter VI—*Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian Records*—are devoted to the East. The inclusion of the accounts of

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59. **Ibid. Most of the works are of this type, the latest being Revill's World History, first published in 1953.**

Egypt, Arabia, Assyria, Babylonia and Persia in the last two works was inevitable because they form the foundations of Greek and Roman Historical Thoughts, in which the West has been exclusively interested. That of Arabic, Persian and Mongol Historians of the Middle Ages in the pen-ultimate work is a matter of courtesy. The last work deals with history, historical thought and historians of Greece and Rome and the Christian Concept of History. As far as it goes, it is a good specimen of scholarship and research, but it is sadly deficient in scope and substance. So far as the History of History or the Evolution of History as a Story, as a Statement of Facts, as a Narrative, as a Discipline, as a Philosophy, as a Science and as an Art is concerned, there is none in the wide sense of the word; and there is, therefore, ample justification to complain that History as such has remained without an history and an historian of its own.[60]

Civilization on Trial.

Professor Arnold Toynbee, who has made a comparative study of civilizations, also strikes a sad note in these words:

> Our world has risen to an unprecedented degree of humanitarian feeling. There is now a recognition of the human rights of people of all classes, nations and races: yet at the same time we have sunk to perhaps unheard of depths of class warfare, nationalism, and these bad passions find vent in cold-blooded, scientifically planned cruelties and the two incompatible states of mind and standards of conduct are to be seen to-day, side by side, not merely in the same world, but some time in the same country and even in the same soul. Again, we have an unprecedented power of productions side by side with unprecedented shortages. We have invented machines to work for us, but have less spare labour than ever before for human service — even for such essential and elementary service as helping mothers to look after babies. We

60. See p. 1. While all that is stated above is true, the fact remains that the East itself has been indifferent to its own past, and it ought to be grateful to the West for all the good work it has done for it in good faith. The East itself must take care of its past.

have persistent alternations of widespread unemployment with famines of man-power. Undoubtedly the contrast between our *expanding historical horizon* and our *contracting historical vision* is something characteristic of our age. Yet, looked at in itself, what an astonishing contradiction it is![61]

Criminal Selfishness.

In what way is the anarchist", says another scholar, "who hurls a bomb regardless whether it tears women and children in pieces, superior to the wild warrior who fell upon the enemy at night and butchered men, women and children? Is the speculative company promoter, who amasses hundreds of millions, robs thousands of families of their all in cold blood, and drives them to misery and despair, even to suicide, while he enriches himself with the fruits of their life's toil, any less guilty of robbery and butchery than an old highway man? We find that there has been undoubted progress in technical inventions, but it certainly conotes no advance in human happiness. These are keeping their inventors to satisfy their criminal selfishness more easily. As a matter of fact, each invention has become the cause of new misdeeds that could not have been carried out at all, or not so easily, with less perfect instruments.[62]

Material Progress.

The writers of *Civilization*: *Past and Present* have dealt with the question 'Are we making progress?' at length and come to the following conclusion:

Medical science is continually lengthening the life span. But does that achievement mean very much if we keep people alive so that we can kill or maim them in global wars and automobile accidents? We devise ingenious labor-saving machines; they do their work so effectively as to throw men out of work, thus reducing purchasing power, which in turn results in the curtailment of production and the eventual shutting down of the machines themselves. Our age suffers from the fear of scarcities in the midst of surpluses and, worst of all, from the fear that man's scientific genius has at last advanced to such a point that we stand a good chance of destroying ourselves and the planet we inhabit. Never have men been so secure in their control of the forces of nature—

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61. Toynbee: **Civilization on Trial, pp. 150-51.**

62. Quoted by Hamid in his **Interpretation of History**, pp. 19-20. Also see **The World Unbalanced** by Gustave Le Bon.

and never have men been more haunted in the insecurity of the future.

"Surely the multiplication of gadgets or material comforts is no criterion of progerss. The Athens of Socrates, and what was perhaps the greatest galaxy of artists and thinkers ever congregated at one time, managed somehow to get along without aeroplanes, radios, plastics, motels, and canned bear. Progress — and survival — must depend upon other factors in addition to our mechanical inventions."[63]

Risks of Writing History.

While we have unsparingly exposed errors and omissions, problems and pitfalls in history and traced their effects, we have made no reference whatsoever to the risk with which the historian was confronted. Some say that the writer of true history would be murdered or put behind the bars. Referring to the function of writing history as it ought to be and to the difficulties and dangers of using 'Secret Memoirs' in the Roman Empire, Professor Thompson has observed that "all kinds of literature suffered, but history the most; for history dealt with politics and the emperors;" that history became reticent and even silent over important things and sought to protect itself by adulation; that "even under these guarded and perverted conditions it was dangerous to write history;" that "in order to escape censure and even death, it was safer not to write Roman history at all;" and that in the last resort "history had to be written with prudence and much of it was written with flattery."[64] "The degraded condition of historiography" was not confined to Rome. It was common in all countries with varying degrees. Speaking of the same state of affairs in France, Sismondi struck a similar note in these words:

63. **Civilization: Past and Present,** Vol. i, p. 20.

64. **Thompson: A History of Historical Writing,** Vol. i, pp. 79-82. What *history* was protected by adulation is obvious.

No modern history has been absolutely free from those necessary lies, those respectful reticences which destroy our confidence and our comprehension of events. Frenchmen have always employed history to establish the rights of kings or nobles, parliaments or people, instead of seeking for the causes of errors with a view to avoiding their repetition: I shall write without subterfuge or indulgence. The absolute power of one or many is poison.[65]

But truth could not be suppressed in all cases despite all efforts to do so and we know that history has preserved the accounts of Pharaohs who were noted for such wilful and vigorous suppression,—thanks to history, the vehicle of truth. Historians and heroes of humanity who never hesitated to proclaim the truth in the teeth of opposition have left ample evidence to vouchsafe the veracity of the view expressed by Tacitus in the following words:

One is inclined to laugh at the stupidity of men who suppose that the Despotism of the present can efface the remembrance of the next generation. The persecution of genius merely proves infamy for the perpetrators of oppression and glory for the victims of tyranny.[66]

History as Hallucination.

On the basis of the evidence adduced above one can say with confidence but without reference to the rich harvest reaped by good history, that part of the picture of the past, at any rate, is a wild dream rather than a living force, a mere hallucination rather than history.[66] The abuse of history has done incalculable harm. If things are not set right and if the situation continues to worsen, as it does, the world is bound to remain within a vicious circle without any way out and the results will be disastrous.

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65. Gooch: History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, p. 161.

66. Tacitus quoted by Thompson in A History of Historical Writing, Vol: i, p. 79.

History as Hope.

The idea underlying the discordant note is not to underrate the importance of history as a vehicle of truth but to rid it of the rot which has been incorporated in it by interested persons and parties. The view that the task is impossible should not act as a bottleneck and deter us from doing what we can. The ideal is too high to be attained but every effort to attain it means a step forward on the path of progress.[67] It is not wise, therefore, to give up hope or to lower the ideal before us. Just as a good doctor diagnoses the disease and applies the remedy, similarly a true historian must take stock of the situation and set his house in order. While events proceed on their mysterious course, as they have always done, the historian cannot afford, as he has never done, to stand as a silent spectator of the saddening scenes and the maddening mishaps. He must "promote the legitimate use and check the abuse of history."[68] He must do his best to correct the errors of the past and ensure a perfect picture of the present by preserving, as far as possible, all available evidence. It is his duty to 'keep history up to date, so far as in him lies, by laborious piecing together of the trustworthy ancient material and the new stuff that keeps coming in.'[69] We will take up this topic again at the end—after we have presented all the problems of history and the points of view of all schools of thought.[70]

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67. Oman: **On the Writing of History**, p. 219.

68. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History**, pp. 88-89.

69. For *History as a Hindrance* and for *Humours of History*, see Oman **On the Writing of History**, pp. 176, ff. and 260, ff.; Geyl on the **Use and Abuse of History**.

70. See Chapter XII and Conclusion.

Chapter V

SCOPE OF HISTORY

Introductory.

Experts have understood, interpreted and explained *history* according to their own lights. They have agreed in their disagreement to such an extent that serious scholars have begun to feel fed up with the multiplicity of divergent definitions and conflicting concepts of history. One of them has expressed the view that we should give up all efforts to define history and accept that "it is the business of the historian to find out anything about mankind in the past which he believes to be interesting or important and about which there are sources of information."[1] Naturally, therefore, the scope of the subject, which invariably varies with varying definitions, interpretations, illustrations and explanations, presents a puzzling problem; and it is imperative to approach it from all angles and explain it in all aspects. Since the scope of a subject is determined by its definition, the definitions of history by distinguished scholars, including those who have experienced and enacted history, are adduced, even at the risk of repetition, to indicate what history is and what it comprises.[2] The main heads of history are highlighted and the subject-matter or material, in each case, is laid out in an outline. The aim of history is expressed in the words of experts and the meaning of *truth*, which history aims at, is explained with reference to the context. So far as the character of contents is concern-

1. Johnson: **Teaching of History**, p. 1.

2. **Ibid.**, pp. 1, ff; Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 8, ff. Also see Chapters, II, III and VII of this Volume.

ed, an attempt has been made to show whether history is a story or a statement of facts, a separate subject or an independent study; a discipline or a science, aiming at precision; a philosophy, explaining the how and why (causality) of events or an art at a high level, probing the mystery of human nature; an exclusive account of human experience or Nature's Open Book—a picture of physical phenomena; a combination of two or more component parts or an over-all account of all that is conceived and perceived, thought and wrought. It is also shown how history is fed by all other subjects and how other subjects have flourished on it. Finally, the canvas of its contents as regards time and space or period and place as well as its coverage as to the nature and ingredients of evidence, oral and written, in different languages and dialects, scripts and styles of hand-writing, forms of composition—poetry and prose—, the physical make-up—MSS. or microfilms, printed papers or photographs, hieroglyphs or sculptures, memory-pictures or sound-records, etc. are brought out in broad relief to complete, as far as possible, the bare outline. Finally, the relation between religion and history is established and it is proved that the two are indispensable.

Scope: By Definitions.

A cursory review of the views and verdicts on history, already recorded,[3] and a glance at the remarks reproduced hereafter with special reference to the kind and character of its contents will amply indicate its ambit or area: Thus, when we say that history is "the narration of events," "the exhibition of what has happend," "the chronicle of kings," "the biography of great men," "the biography of society," "the

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3. See Chapters II and III.

evolution of nature," "the photograph of the past" "the progress of the consciousness of Freedom," "the study of civilization," "the realization of religion," "the Government of God," "the Incarnation of God," "the Divine Plan," and "the Divine Idea,"[4] or when we say that "Human History has man for its object as natural history has the physical world and the divine history God[5]," we map out the material or the subject-matter of history; and when we say that history is *a story, a statement of facts, a narrative, a discipline, a science, a philosophy,* and *an art* at a high level, we analyze the nature and character of its contents. When we deal with the physical world or the natural phenomena, we enlist the aid of physical sciences; and when we have recourse to God or refer to our relation with the Creator, we recognize religion as a spiritual force and follow the divine plan. As everything has its own history and "nothing in the world is intelligible apart from its history,"[6] we cannot understand history without the aid of its own history. Hence history has the *whole* as its field of activity, so much so that it includes the history of history itself. We will take up this theme again after we have dealt with the history of history as far as possible.

By Subject.

Generally understood, history consists of (1) Court Chronicles or narration of events according to regnal years of kings and queens, (2) Biography or personal accounts, including travels, (3) Survey of

4. Ibid., Johnson: **Teaching of History**, pp. 1, ff.; Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 8, ff.; Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History**, p. 322; Powicke: **Modern Historians and the Study of History**, p. 231.

5. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, p. 193.

Ibid., p. 2.

Society, Proletariat or Commonplace, (4) Account of Mental Outlook: Ideology: Culture, (5) Picture of Material Progress or Civilization,[7] and (6) History of History or the Evolution of History as a separate subject.[8] Those interested in these topics have developed them in their own way and treated them as approaches to history regarded as knowledge.[9] According to this view, history is a mighty ocean made up of many rivers and streams, drains and drops. Just as the constituents of the ocean are *water* severally as well as collectively, similarly the component parts of history are *history* in part as well as in whole. History depends upon them and they depend upon history for existence and advance.[10] A brief account of each will be interesting and instructive.

(1) Court Chronicles.

In a 'narrow' sense history means the story of kings and queens and of the exceptional, though not necessarily important events and occurrences of their reigns. Confined to this limited meaning, it covers or encompasses an account of royal household, court intrigues, party politics, wars and peace-treaties, marriages and divorces, etc. i.e. events and occurrences, both 'celebrated and notorious.' Generally speaking, this kind of history may well be styled as *drum-and-trumpet*, *date-and-fact* and *dry-as-dust*. It is for the most part a mere *list of exceptions* and is, therefore, 'no explanation of the present and no guide to the future.' Its importance is said to be found in the fact that "it marks the uniqueness of a

7. **Ibid.**, pp. 3, ff.; Burns: **Political Ideals**, pp. 12, ff.

8. Shotwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica; Introduction to the History of History**; Flint: **Philosophy of History**, p. 3; Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 1, ff.

9. Burns: **Political Ideals**, pp. 12, ff.

10. **Ibid.**; Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 8, ff.

particular event occurring at a particular time and conclusively proves that history never repeats itself." Just as an individual cannot put his foot twice in the same waters of a running stream, similarly an event that has occurred once will never occur again at the same time. In other words, history is a running stream or a process in time, in which each event has its own specific place. It is in this sense that it has been called "a mausolium of dead issues."[11]

(2) Biography.

History is also defined as the story of great men—men who changed the destinies of nations, raised them from inertia to action, lifted them up from the depths of degradation to the heights of spiritual, moral and material greatness and worked a veritable revolution in the life and thought of the people living around them. As such, it deals with the conspicuous achievements of great men in peace and war, in religion and philosophy, in art and literature, etc. Carlyle's theory of history is founded on the key-part played by great men in making and shaping the history of their times. It was supported by Hegel, Nordau, Cousin, and others with slight variations.[12] It must be noted, however, that history preserves and presents both sides of human character—good and bad. It speaks of saints as well as sinners and, therefore, of virtue as well as vice. It includes accounts of great men and glorious deeds, so also of evil-doers and evil deeds.[13] Let lovers of light literature know that his-

11. Burns: Political Ideals, p. 12; Shotwell: Introduction to the History of History, p. 317.

12. Carlyle: Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History, pp. 1, ff., 17; Flint: Philosophy of History, pp. 474-75; Hegel: Philosophical History, pp. 435, ff.

13. Flint: Philosophy of History, pp. 8-9.

tory has also preserved the tales of true lovers who have left a lasting impression on human heart and that history provides ample material for themes of love, fidelity, self-abnegation and sacrifice. This type of history is called Biography, covering heraldry as well as hagiology. It also includes travels.[14]

(3) **Commonplace: Democratic.**

Taking a broader view of the subject, history covers a connected account of the commonplace events, i.e. events that occur daily or most frequently as against those which occur only occasionally or rarely. Such an account would then depict the daily life and work of the people as a whole or their daily activities as against the exceptional events of their life and times. In other words, it is a picture of the proletariat or a portrait of "the commonplace and the general atmosphere of the dead ages." This kind of history is called "Democratic History" as well as "History of the Commonplace." It is far more important than the history of the chosen few and its scope is far greater than that of Biography of Great Men.[15]

(4) **Ideology: Culture.**

The list of factors and forces that go to make history includes phases of mental development or Culture and Ideas and Ideals or Ideology. The people of the past not only did certain things, but looked at things in a particular way and also aspired for certain other things and tried to accomplish them. They fixed certain standards and endeavoured to approach them. These standards—spiritual as well as secular—, partly attained and partly unattained and the

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14. Burns: **Political Ideals**, pp. 15-16.

15. **Ibid.**, pp. 14-15; Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 8-9.

efforts to attain them have their own history, which has been designated as the History of Culture or History of Ideology.[16]

(5) **Civilization.**

In a still wider sense, history would embrace a record of the material progress made by man since the dawn of humanity and the development of historical sense. It is then the history of outward expression of mental development or culture. It may well be called the History of Civilization, where civilization stands for material progress—the outer expression of inner soul.[17] Professor Toynbee's approach to the study of history is through civilization as a unit of study. By civilization he means a specific society with a particular pattern. In *A Study of History* he has traced as many as twenty-one civilizations.[18]

(6) **History of History.**

Finally, the scope of the subject includes the history of history.[19] In order to understand and appreciate history as well as to assess and evaluate its importance, it is necessary to trace its evolution both backward and forward or from the recent to the remote past and from the present to the distant future. Flint's observations on this aspect of history are illuminating. He says:

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16. Burns: **Political Ideals**, pp. 1, ff., 19, ff.

17. See pages 21, ff. Also see Burns: **Political Ideals**, pp. 17,24; Gooch: **History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century**, pp. 523, ff., Spengler: **The Decline of the West**, Vol. 1, pp. 29, ff., 104-5.

18. Toynbee: **A Study of History**, pp. 1, ff. and Gooch: **History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century**, pp. 532, ff.

19. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, p. 3; Shotwell: **History** in **the Encyclopaedia Britannica** and **Introduction to the History of History**; Croce: **Theory and History of Historiography**, pp. 165, ff.

The theories of thinkers are in an obvious sense as much historical facts and realities as births and deaths, treaties and battles, the changes of dynasties and the revolutions of peoples. What men have thought about history is thus itself a section of history; and, like all that is history, it should be treated in the first and chief place simply as history; that is, should be studied solely with a view to discover precisely what it is and how it has come to be what it is.[20]

Over-all Picture.

Taking all types of history together or taking history in the widest sense of the word so far as subject-matter is concerned, it means knowledge of knowledge, including that of its own. It means knowledge of all that has happened, and embraces the entire field of what is seen, heard, felt and done —human experience as a whole. It is a running film or photograph of the creation and continuous evolution of the universe as a whole and the story of everything it contains, for everything has its own history. Dr. Johnson has summed up the sense and scope of history in these words:

"History, in its broadest sense, is everything that ever happened. It is the past itself, whatever that may be......... We speak of a history of plants, of animals, and even of inanimate nature. But history in the usual acceptation of the term means the history of man. The materials to be studied are the traces left by his existence in the world, his thoughts, feelings, and actions."[21]

Coverage: By Time.

It is a written record of all that has happened—all the phenomena of human life as well as of the natural world, based on all available sources of infor-

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20. Flint: Philosophy of History, p. 3

21. Spengler: The Decline of the West, Vol. i, pp. 5-9; Flint: Philosophy of History, pp. 8-9; Shotwell: Introduction to the History of History, p. 4, History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica; Croce: Theory and History of Historiography, p. 56.

mation. The aim of history is to explore the past with a view to explaining the present and improving the future. This is but natural and in the fitness of things because the past, the present and the future are linked together in logical sequence.[22] It is obvious that the scope of history extends over all the three, and this is the Faustian Picture of human history in the words of Spengler:

> A boundless mass of human Being, flowing in a stream without banks: up-stream, a dark past wherein our time-sense loses all powers of definition and restless or uneasy fancy conjures up geological periods to hide away an eternally-unsolvable riddle; down-stream, a future even so dark and timeless—such is the groundwork of the Faustian picture of human history.[23]

By Space.

As in time, so in space, history has no limits except those imposed by political, religious or racial considerations and arbitrarily fixed by historians for purposes of convenience or specialization. Thus we have such histories as universal, continental, local, dynastic, etc.

By Character of Contents.

So far as the nature of the subject and the character of its contents are concerned, history is regarded as a story or statement of facts, as a discipline or independent study, as a philosophy, as a science and as an art either severally or jointly. In order to define the scope of history from this point of view it is necessary to deal with them all to show whether history is one, two, more, or all of them together.

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22. Marc Bloch: The Historian's Craft, pp. 39, ff.; Burns: Political Ideals, pp. 11-12; Gooch: History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, pp. 523, ff.

23. Spengler: The Decline of the West, Vol. i, p. 105.

(1) Statement of Facts.

One of the important aims of history is to dig out and preserve truth. The term *truth* used here means a true account of what has actually happened and not absolute truth or reality. A true account of the untrue is as much history as a true account of truth. For, history is a faithful record of the past—both good and bad, right and wrong, true and untrue, part and whole, etc. It includes wilful suppression of facts and deliberate distortions, fiction and fabrications, etc. as facts in themselves, though far from truth. No historian has a right to ignore them.[24] When it was contemplated to omit the 'Tragedy of Black-Hole' and other 'fabrications' from books on Indian History, some had to differ and state that they should be retained, exploded and proved as false if they were really so, for their outright omission would be easily misconstrued as suppression of facts. As a true statement of facts and a factual account of the struggle between Right and Wrong history must present a perfect picture of both. What is the place of Evil in history? was a question to which my reply was: "The same as that of Satan in the Sacred Scriptures." History cannot exclude Evil,[25] however ugly and repugnant, immoral and inhuman, and myth, however illogical and impossible, but they must be so stated, so that there may be no confusion. As to the nature of myth and its connection with history, a scholar has aptly said: "Myth is the history of its authors and not its subjects; it records the lives, not of superhuman heroes but of poetic nations."[26] With regard to the nature of *facts*, so much talked of, another scholar

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24. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 8-9.

25. Ibid., p. 8. See Mechiavelli: **The Prince**; and Barni: **Tarikh-i-Firozshahi**, pp. 12-13.

26. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History**, p. 17.

has stated: "The history which we read, though based on facts, is, strictly speaking, not facts, but a series of accepted judgments, and what we call historical generalizations are judgments about judgments."[27]

(2) **Discipline.**

History has ceased to be a branch of *belles lettres*. It is now a separate subject, an independent study, a distinct discipline. Like so many other disciplines—philosophy and religion, ethics and aesthetics, mechanics and mathematics, biology and geology, which are concerned with the exploration, interpretation and explanation of the themes or subject-matter relating to them,—history has its own subject to deal with—man and society—"the nearest and noblest studies of mankind"—in relation to their environments and the physical phenomena. It affords assistance to all arts and sciences and is assisted by them all. It deals with distinct phenomena deserving delineation in their own forms and phases and description in relation to other contiguous and co-existing phenomena. Therefore, it deserves to be treated scientifically, philosophically and artistically. The "process of man's reflection on his own history" has got an importance of its own and to trace this process is the task of the historian. It places at our disposal the fruits of what has hitherto been attempted and accomplished in its own sphere as well as in the fields of other disciplines. The process involved is one of experiment and observation, inquiry and investigation, thought and imagination or, in other words, of science, philosophy and art.[28]

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27. Powicke: **Modern Historians and the Study of History**, p. 231. Also see Chapter I, pp. 15, ff. of this Volume.

28. Flint; **Philosophy of History**, pp. 1, ff., 8, ff. and Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History.**

(3) **Science.**

"History is the reservoir not of argument, but of proof and the proof is mathematical."[29] Hence history is regarded as a science. "Two indispensable bases for history are: writing and mathematics—the one to record what time would otherwise indifferently blot out, the other to measure time itself in calendars and chronology."[30] In a sense, history is a science in the same way as mathematics, astrology, astronomy, etc,—all of which depend upon calculation, calendar and chronology for precision and perfection. Zero is the central figure in mathematics. Counting from it either way—forward and backward —plus and minus—, we do not reach the terminus either way. The same is the case with history, of which the beginning and ending are unknown. History is a science in so far as it has formulated its own laws, the process involved being mechanical and methodical, though not entirely divorced from mental and artistic.[31] I will explain this as I have experienced: When research scholars come for guidance in the Central Record Office, Peshawar, they are given a set of instructions, based on extensive experiments and observations, on specific points—how to select a subject for research, how to procure data and prepare bibliography, how to make a mental picture and draw up synopsis, how to handle and consult the original, secondary and tertiary sources, how to take notes and trace relevant references, how to connect and correlate evidence to present, as far as possible, a perfect picture of the past, how to develop the theme and build up the thesis, how to take down the ideas that present themselves in the passing process; and how

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29. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History,** p. 307.
30. **Ibid.,** p. 27. Also see pages 53, ff. of this Volume.
31. Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 8, 17, ff., 20, ff.

to revise and rewrite the whole in the final form[32]. After ascertaining their background and aptitude for research, the suitability of the subject selected ıor research and the certainty of original contribution, the authenticity and adequacy of the sources of information, and the ability of the reseach scholars to put them to the best use, by questions, cross-questions and discussions, they are required to keep a register of loose leaves, tagged together at the left-hand margin so as to admit additions and omissions, when required; they are helped in preparing an outline of the thesis in the form of chapters and their contents on the basis of their background and entering it in the loose-leaf register, leaving a dozen or so blank sheets at the end of each chapter and a few pages at the end of the tentative bibliography; they are advised to study the sources carefully and enter in the register the notes as well as their own ideas[33] in appropriate places provided for the purpose, taking care that the sources consulted are entered in the bibliography with such particulars as authors, titles, editions, etc. and the page numbers are entered at the end of the notes taken for purposes of authentication in the form of foot-notes. When all the sources have been tapped and the necessary data have been collected, they are directed to arrange the material and put it in proper perspective, making sure that every bit of information has found its proper place in the picture.[34] The mechanical part of the process now gives way to that of mental.

32. Methods of Historical Research will be dealt with in detail in a separate Volume on Historical Research.

33. Mental process does not altogether cease while mechanical process is in full swing. The ideas that arise in the mind in the course of mechanical process should be recorded forthwith i.e. before they are lost to memory.

34. These Methods form part of the Diploma Course instituted by the Provincial Government in the Central Record Office, Peshawar, in the charge of the writer.

(4) Philosophy.

The historical phenomena, in which man is the principal participant, are, on the whole, mental phenomena. That human experience involves lot of mental process and therefore forms a subject of philosophy cannot be disputed. Philosophers have conceded that there is a philosophy of history which is connected with such mental process. Transcending above what is called a story or statement of facts, when history becomes a distinct discipline and attempts to explain the *how* and *why* of what has happened in relation to other phenomena; in other words when history undertakes to explain the relations of causation and to show the links which connect history with other subjects and with the whole universe, it assumes the role of philosophy. Historical criticism implies nothing but philosophy.[35] A critical review of all that has happened and the application of the methods of induction and deduction to the historical phenomena—human as well as physical—irrefutably establish the claim of history to be a philosophy. "Napoleon regarded history as 'the only true philosophy' and advised his son to think and reflect on it. According to his biographer, his political calculations were fed from two sources: history and imagination."[36] Reverting to the guidance offered to research scholars in such mechanical processes in the preparation of theses as already enumerated, they are asked to review the sources of information as critically as they can, restore the interrelation of the evidence as well as the phenomena dealt with, put them in logical order, view them as a whole to ensure their

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35. Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 17, ff., 41; Hallam's **Constitutional History of England,** Vol. ii, pp. 874-75; Shotwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica**; and Toynbee: **Greek Historical Thought,** pp. 180, 196-97.

36. Emil Ludwig: **Napoleon,** pp. 325-26.

mental grasp, trace the causes and consequences of events and occurrences. As they proceed further, they are confronted with the complexities of human nature which can be solved or explained by art at a high level. Referring to the tract which art has to track, Froude has remarked:

> The first fantastic conception of things gave way before the moral; the moral in turn gave way before the natural; and at last there was left but one small tract of jungle where the theory of law had failed to penetrate — the doings and character of human creatures themselves.[37]

(5) Art: Genius.

While science has formed the foundation of history, and philosophy its trunk, the fruits of history are left to the lot of art. History is an art when it is conditioned on genius,[38] i.e., when it requires extensive and intensive experience of human nature to understand and explain its complexities. For instance: "One must have served in war to know how to describe it accurately and well; one must have watched the political movements of one's own day to be able to handle those of the past."[39] Sir Runciman says:

> For, though the scientific method is needed in the study of history, in the last resort history is not a science but an art. For it deals with human beings and in spite of all efforts of modern psychologists human behaviour cannot be reduced to a series of formulae; nor will an empirical treatment answer the questions that history raises. For the final stages what a historian wants is experience — which comes from long study — and still more a disciplined imagination and power of imaginative sympathy that is built up on proven evidence.[40]

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37. Froude: **Lecture on History as a Science.**

38. Shotwell: **History** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica, Introduction to the History of History,** p. 8; and Bolingbroke on **History** in **The International Library of Famous Literature,** Vol. viii, p. 3795.

39. **Ibid.,** Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing,** Vol. i, p. 554; Hyde: **Historical Method and Interpretation,** pp. 6, ff.

40. Runciman: **Lacture on History.**

Here the research scholars are left alone. Here they are expected to draw upon their own knowledge and experience of human nature. Here they are advised to view history in the light of their own knowledge and experience and record their own judgment. This has brought us to a still higher stage in history in which the role of vision is most dominant. We will approach it step by step.

Nature and History.

"Nature and History," says Spengler, "are the opposite extreme terms of man's range of possibilities, whereby he is enabled to *order* the actualities about him as a picture of the world. As actuality is Nature in so far as it *assigns* things-becoming their place as things-become, and History in so far as it *orders* things-become with reference to their becoming."[41] The difference between the two (History and Nature or according to Spengler, the *physiognomy* of all things-becoming and the *system* of all things-become) is the same as that between 'a feeling of life' and 'a system of knowledge.'[42]

Morphology:

Dealing with the various modes of comprehending the world, discussing them in detail in connection with world-history and describing them as Morphology (a science that deals with the forms of living organisms), Oswald Spengler observes:

> Nevertheless, we must not lose sight of the fact that at bottom the wish to write history *scientifically* involves a contradiction. True science reaches just as far as the notions of truth and falsity have validity: this applies to mathematics and *it applies also to the science of historical spadework, viz. the collection, ordering and sifting of material.* But real historical

41. Spengler: The Decline of the West, Vol. i, p. 94.
42. Ibid., p. 119.

vision (which only begins at this point) belongs to the domain of significances, in which the crucial words are not "correct" and "erroneous" but "deep" and "shallow." The true physicist is not deep, but *keen*: it is only when he leaves the domain of working hypotheses and brushes against the final things that he can be deep, but at this stage he is already a metaphysician. *Nature is to be handled scientifically, History poetically.* Old Leopold von Ranke is credited with the remark that, after all, Scott's "Quentine Durward" was the true history-writing. And so it is: the advantage of a good history book is that it enables the reader to be his own Scott.[43]

Systematic and Physiognomic.

Describing the morphology that treats of natural phenomena as *systematic* and that dealing with historical phenomena as *physiognomic*, the same scholar further observes:

> The nature-researcher can be *educated*, but the man who knows history is *born*. He seizes and pierces men and facts with one blow, guided by a feeling which cannot be acquired by learning or affected by persuation, but which only too rarely manifests itselt in full intensity. Direction, fixing, ordering, defining by cause and effect, are things that one can do if one likes. These things are work, but the other is creation. Form and law, portrayal and comprehension, symbol and formula, have different organs, and their opposition is that in which life stands to death, production to destruction. Reason, system and comprehension kill as they "cognize." That which is cognized becomes a rigid object, capable of measurement and subdivision. Intuitive vision, on the other hand, vivifies and incorporates the details in a living inwardly felt unity. Poetry and historical study are kin. Calculation and cognition are also kin. But as Hebbel says somewhere, systems are not dreamed, and art works are not calculated or (what is the same thing) thought out. The artist or the real historian sees the becoming of a thing (*schaut, wie etwas wird*), and he can re-enact its becoming from its lineaments, whereas the systematist, whether he be physicist, logician, evolutionist or pragmatical historian, learns the thing that has become.[44]

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43. Ibid., p. 96. 44. Ibid., p. 102.

Memory-Picture.

According to Oswald Spengler: "The Picture of history—be it the history of mankind, of the world of organisms, of the earth or of the stellar systems—is a *memory*-picture." In this connection he has conceived *memory* as 'a higher state' and 'a perfectly definite kind of imagining power.' Goethe expresses the same view when he says: "No man can judge history but one who has himself experienced history."[45] From *Memory Picture* we pass on to *Human Psyche.*

Human Psyche.

Professor Toynbee has defined and discussed *Human Psyche* at some length in his book *An Historian's Approach to Religion.* What follows is but a brief summary of his statement: There are two facets of Truth, one approached by 'a conscious volitional surface' and the other by 'a subconscious emotional abyss' of the Human Psyche. The Truth apprehended by the former (intellect) finds its natural expression in science and the Truth apprehended by the latter (Subconscious Psyche) finds its natural expression in poetry. As both the facets are expressed by one and the same word (Truth), it does not necessarily follow that they are identical. The same words and the same vocabulary are employed to express different meanings and to serve different purposes without creating any confusion in our daily intercourse. One facet of the Truth cannot, therefore, be translated into the other without creating confusion and losing hold of the whole Truth. The same (single) vehicle or vocabulary includes *music* which is older than words and *feelings* which are older than music.[46] Rattenbury has expressed the same idea in these words:

45. **Ibid.**, p. 103. Cf. Hamid: **Ibn** Maskawaih.

46. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** pp. 119-121. Cf. **Ibn** Maskawaih: **Al-Fauz-ul-Asghar.**

The emotions are the track on which the experience runs. Sex feeling runs on some of the same tracks as religious feeling; both express themselves by fear, anger, wonder, joy, silence, speech; but it does not mean that they are identical experiences because they use the same tracks. The power of a woman over a man is not identical with that of God, but many of its emotional responses are the same, for the simple reason that a man is not equipped with two sorts of tears and two sorts of laughter, one for God and the other for a woman. Sacred and secular music use the same notes, but with different results.[47]

Prophecy and Metaphysics.

The learned Professor has developed the theme further and tried to distinguish between Prophecy and Metaphysics. His conclusions are as follows: The comprehensive vision on the poetic level of Subconscious Psyche is called *Prophecy* and on the scientific level of the intellect it is called *Metaphysics*. Poetic vision springs up as intuitive insight from the Subconscious Psyche in individual flashes without any time-relation between them so that one piece of poetry cannot be regarded as superior or inferior to the other simply on account of its place in time. As against this, 'the intellect improves its comprehension of the Universe in course of time; and science is a cumulative charting of this continually changing picture of the universe on the Psyche's conscious surface.' The presentation of scientific truth, general or special, 'is always precarious and temporary.' The difference between poetic truth and scientific truth is that the former being static in time-dimension is absolute and the latter being cumulative in time-dimension is relative.[48]

Meaning of Prophecy.

In the above account the word *Prophecy* is used:

In the original and authentic sense, in which it means, not a forecast of the future, but the revelation of a mystery that is out

47. Ibid., p. 120; Rattenbury: **Wolsey's Legacy to the World**, p. 72 See Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 228-29.

48. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, p. 123.

of the Intellect's reach. The literal meaning of 'prophecy' is the utterance of Truth from a hidden source from which Truth cannot be extracted by intellectual processes.[49]

Prophet-Historian.

It follows from the foregoing account that Prophetic Vision is intuitive, inherent and inborn, not acquired by education or effort on the part of anyone. The historian, who is not endowed with it, cannot view the whole and do full justice to history. A true historian, who is gifted with it, is a prophet in this sense, but not in the sense of Islamic Ideology.[50] With regard to the nature of the work which he has to attempt and accomplish, we are given the following short-sketch:

> It is the work of the world-historian to attempt to mass this crude material, to visualize it in its relations to other similar masses,and to build with it a unified structure of history in which each portion shall appear in its proper relations to all the rest.[51]

In this age such an undertaking seems to be swimming against the swift current of specialization, but it can be accomplished by one whose job is to swim against the tumultuous tide of time. It is here that the poetic or prophetic vision, worked out by Professor Toynbee, and the philosophic vision, thought out by Ibn Maskawaih,[52] will enable him to accomplish his task.

Sources of Information.

So far as the sources of information are concerned, the scope of history would cover knowledge of antiquities or the science of remains, called Archaeology, which also includes, in many cases, the ancillary

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49. **Ibid.** See also Kellett: **Aspects of History**, p. 27.

50. See Chapter IX—**Islamic Ideology**. The writer has dealt with this delicate question in his **Muqam-i-Nabuwat.**

51. **Historians' History of the World,** Vol. i, p. 8.

52. Ibn Maskawaih: **Al-Fauz-ul-Asghar;** Hamid: **Ibn Maskawaih,** pp. 60, ff. and 116, ff.

sciences of Epigraphy and Numismatics; and the knowledge of records or the Science of Archives, which also includes the auxiliary disciplines of Palaeography and Diplomatic. Whereas Archaeology is the sole source of our information about the remote past, Archives are the main source of our knowledge of the recent past. It will be interesting, therefore, to know how these two new sciences have formed the foundations of history.

Archaeology.

"The historians of ancient Egypt and Babylonia are not ancient Egyptians or Babylonians but modern archaeologists."[53] This remark is equally applicable to all ancient countries—Pakistan and Persia, India and China, etc. Archaeologists have bridged the gulf between the historic and the pre-historic fields and pushed the frontiers of history far back. In the absence of documentary evidence, they have verified facts by comparing the remains of the cultures of the past with the output of the existing cultures of the same kind or class. This comparative method has been called into service for the recovery of the unrecorded past since the dawn of history. But the archaeologists as well as the historians must not mistake the character of the conclusions or the implications of the inferences drawn from the archaeological material made available and put at their disposal. If they are trained in the historical method, they will readily realize that "phenomena are never quite the same outside of their environment, for the environment is part of them."[54] It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that, comparatively speaking, there is lot of speculation and conjecture in the history built up on the basis

53. Shotwell: Introduction to the History of History, p. 51.
54. Ibid., pp. 12, 15-16.

of archaeological evidence, and that such a history is to be judged accordingly.[55]

Archives.

Archives may be defined as documents, manuscript or printed, properly produced by persons or parties, individuals or institutions, officials or administrations, in the course of actions and transactions, public or private, accumulated by natural process and kept in safe custody by their owners and their legitimate successors, to perpetuate the memory and to authenticate the truth of the actions or transactions mentioned therein. They are regarded as the most authentic source of history in that they contain what their authors actually intended to convey. They mirror the minds of the persons or parties producing them.[56] Two ancillary disciplines which have recently risen to prominence and which deserve specific mention in this connection are Palaeography and Diplomatic, of which the former is "concerned with the method of deciphering and describing a document as it is presented to us in its material body, including the transcription of its contents, the determination of its date, nationality, authorship, and ownership, the style of hand-writing or ornamentation and a description of the materials employed in its construction deduced from examination of the document itself and from investigation of its provenance;" and the latter with the method of interpreting the significance underlying the forms and features of the documents and their contents. Both these disciplines are indispensable for the evaluation of archival evidence.[57]

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55. **Ibid.** Also see page 17 of this Volume.

56. Jaffar: **Archives—Meaning, Scope and Importance,** pp. 1, ff., **Historical Wealth of the North-West Frontier Province,** West Pakistan, pp. 1, ff.

57. Jaffar: **Historical Wealth of N-W.F.P.,** pp. 17, ff.

Other Subjects.

We have already stated how history has influenced other subjects and how other subjects have influenced history, directly or indirectly: how history (recording and preserving) has formed the foundation of other subjects and how other subjects (speech and writing or language and literature, time and space or calendar and chronology, geography and geology) have formed the basis of history; how history has stimulated other subjects and how other subjects have enriched history and increased its scope. We have traced the influence of history on astronomy and mathematics in connection with the construction of calendar and chronology; we have dealt with the interrelation of history and geography; we have pointed out how historians have employed social sciences as aids to the explanation of history which is concerned mainly with the activities of human beings; we have noted how historians have enlisted the aid of physical sciences in undersanding and explaining the physical phenomena in relation to historical facts; and, finally, we have proved how history itself is a story, a statement of facts, a discipline, a science, a philosophy and an art.[58] No further elucidation seems to be necessary at this stage. Suffice it to say that no subject—good or bad, constructive or destructive, etc. —is outside the scope of history.

General Coverage.

In other respects, History covers spoken words, whether mechanically preserved in the form of tape records, gramophone records, etc. and passed on from

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58. See pages 45, 53, ff., 79. See also Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, pp. 87, ff.; and Kellett: **Aspects of History.**

person to person, generation to generation, etc., or orally in the form of traditions, sayings, proverbs, maxims, etc. or in writing in the form of inscriptions, records, manuscripts, printed works, photostats, microfilms, etc., either privately or officially, on paper, parchment, metal, stone or some other substance, in any language, script and style of hand-writing, code or character, in prose or poetry, on any subject, of art and science, good or bad, pertaining to any period—past, present and future—and any place in this or in any other planet, in any bulk ranging from one word to any number of volumes, in any form, report, monograph, encyclopaedia, etc., in extenso or summary and occupying any amount of space.[59]

Place of Religion in History.

The cumulative effect of the evidence so far cited is that the scope of history is all-inclusive and that it comprehends everything—even itself. Two crucial questions come up before us at this stage: (1) Should the Creator, who is not part of the creation and who is, therefore, beyond comprehension, be left alone as outside the scope of history? and (2) Should religion or relation with Him be kept aside as something which has nothing to do with history? Professor Shotwell's views are:

> Now, however, in an age of science, when miracles are disowned on general principles, the romantic additions to the primitive tale contributed by the narrative of E merely lower its value as history.
>
> Faith and scientific history do not readily work together.
>
> Theologians and metaphysicians are the only ones who attempt to deal with final causes as with final ends. Certainly,

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59. Jaffar: Historical Wealth of N-W.F.P., pp. 3, 17.

historians cannot follow them in such speculation. The infinite lies outside experience and experience is the sphere of history. When we talk of the interpretation of history, therefore, we do not mean its setting in the universe, but a knowledge of its own inner relationships. We confine ourselves to humanity and the theatre of its activities. But within this realm of mystery man exists, acts and thinks — or thinks he does — which is all mostly un-understood, even by the actors themselves. Here is mystery enough, mystery which is not in itself unknowable but merely unknown. The social sciences do not invade the field of religion; they have nothing to do with the ultimate; their problems are those of the City of Man, not of the City of God. So the interpretation of history can leave theology aside, except where theology attempts to become historical. Then it must face the same criticism as all other histories. If the City of God is conceived of as a creation of the processes of civilization, it becomes as much a theme for scientific analysis as the Roman Empire or the Balkan Confederacy. If theology substitutes itself for science, it must accept the same treatment as science. But our search for historic "cause" is merely a search for other things of the same kind—natural phenomena of some sort —which lie in direct and apparently inevitable connection. We interpret history by knowing more of it, bringing to bear our psychology and every other auxiliary to open up each intricate relationship between men, situations and events.[60]

Although the questions raised above will be considered at their proper place in due course, they must be answered here, however briefly, in relation to the scope of history, so that the points raised by Professor Shotwell and others of the same views[61] should not be skipped over. That the universe has not sprung up of its own and the movements — so well-regulated movements — of the earth, the moon, the sun and the stars are not automatic is obvious and the presence behind the

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60. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History** pp. 90, 281, 315-16. Also see Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 59, ff.

61. "I must decline to discuss religious secret which, being incomprehensible, is beyond the grasp of history."—Ranke. See Gooch: **History and Historians of the 19th Century**, p. 94.

phenomena stands proved. That the Creator is One, that He is not part of the creation and yet the creation is not without His presence is true. This is what everyone can experience daily—even every moment. The connection between the Creator and the creation is so close and clear that, although the latter cannot comprehend the former from the very nature of the case, it can always feel His presence and power. At any rate, history, which deals with human experience cannot do away with human efforts in that direction. Thus, when history deals with the creation, it cannot ignore its spiritual source—the Creator. Religion, which forms the foundation of history, must occupy the highest place within its framework.[62] Religion will lose all reality, in fact it will not be religion at all, if it is not based on reason, or rather, if it is not reason itself. The Age of Reason, has rejected all unnecessary accretions and un-called-for interpolations, but not religion itself in the right sense of the word, for that will amount to the rejection of Reason itself. The social sciences, based on reason, cannot invade the citadel of reason—religion, the right religion. It is for the Age of Reason to find out and follow the right religion. With regard to the relation between religion and history, the same scholar (Shotwell), whom we have quoted above, has stated in the same connection: "Religion has supplied the framework of our thought and the picture of our evolution. The most influential historians of Europe have been the parish priests."[63] The argument gathers further force

62. "History is religion or at any rate there is the closest connection between them. As there is no human activity of intellectual importance which does not originate in some relation to God and divine things, so there is no nation whose political life is not continually raised and guided by religious ideas."—**Ranke. Ibid.**

63. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History, p. 323.**

when one finds that the study of history as a statement of facts, as a discipline, as a science; as a philosophy and as an art was inspired by Islam, as we have already posed and will presently prove,[64] and the early Muslim historians, Ibn Is-haq, Ibn Hisham, Al-Yaqubi, Al-Tabari, Albiruni, Al-Masudi, Ibn Asir, Ibn Khaldun, As-Sahawi Al-Kafiji, etc. were theologians of high rank and reputation. It is an established fact that history—right or wrong—, has flourished under the patronage of religion—right or wrong; that religion—right or wrong—, has thriven on history—right or wrong; and that there has always been a war between right religion and wrong history, right history and wrong religion.

Summing-up.

Dr. Kellett has demonstrated the scope of history by dealing with *History as Theology*, *History as Literature*, *History as Propaganda*, *History as Art and Science*, *History as Politics*, *History as Ethics and History as Economics*.[65] Others have described History as Philosophy, Morphology, Geography, Geology, Archaeology, etc.[66] Sir Charles Oman has summed up its scope in these words:

> History in the all-embracing conception of it, which some people nourish, must show as its branches, the annals of all human activities, from the discovery of the use of fire to the invention of tele-radiography.[67]

Maitland has maintained that history means 'all that men have said and done and, above all, what

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64. See pages 6-7 and Chapters IX and X.

65. Kellett: **Aspects of History.**

66. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, p. 3.

67. Oman: **On the Writing of History**, p. 5. See also Johnson: **Teaching of History**, p. 1.

they have thought.' Lord Bryce regarded history as the record of 'what man has thought, said and done' and declared 'human nature' as its subject.[68] Robert Flint had a broader view of the subject and its scope, so broad as to include the history of history in history, as already noted. According to his concept, the canvas covered the whole of human experience:

> History is all that man has suffered, thought and executed—the entire life of humanity—the whole movement of societies. It is history thus understood which is the subject of the art, and the science, and the philosophy of history,—of the art which analyses it and traces its laws, and of the philosophy which exhibits it in its relations to the general system of the universe.....
>
> History is made up of what is little as well as of what is great, of what is common as well as of what is strange, of what is counted mean as well as of what is counted noble. The obscure agency of the masses is more potent in forming it than the brilliant achievements of the few. Things of frequent recurrence are more important than those which are rare. A history of wages or prices is at least as instructive as a history of battles and political intrigues. The historian has no right to despise the smallest incidents, the humblest lives: for the great is explained by the little, and the life of humanity is unfolded not merely through a few of its members but through all.[69]

All in all, history includes everything, for everything has its own history. It embraces the entire universe and all that is contained in it. It is ever-accumulating knowledge and experience of ever-extending past. The greatest encyclopaedia of the world is but an imperfect indication of its scope.[70]

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68. Maitland quoted by Hyde: **Historical Method and Interpretation**, p. 10.

69. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 8-9, read with p. 3.

70. Shotwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica**; Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 1, ff. Also see **World-Process in Chapter VII of this Volume.**

Chapter VI

IMPORTANCE OF HISTORY

Introductory.

In order to understand and appreciate the importance of history in all its aspects, it is necessary to have a clear concept of what *importance* actually implies and signifies. A thing is important if it is indispensable, essential, necessary or desirable. In other words, a thing is important either because it is indispenable for existence, e. g. air for life, or because it is a condition precedent to the attainment of an object, i. e. education for knowledge and self-improvement. Certain acts and attitudes are important because they are enjoined by religion and are therefore obligatory, e. g. prayer and piety. Some articles and objects are valued because of their usefulness or because of the material advantages accruing from them, e. g. pen and paper for writing, documentary evidence for the authentication of claims, money for its purchasing power, etc.; others are esteemed as sacred relics, souvenirs and heirlooms on account of their association with the heroes of humanity, near relatives and dear friends.[1] Importance is a relative term: it varies in varying cases, times and places. Aims and objects, purposes and functions are also determining factors. So far as history is concerned, its importance in relation to its own aim and object, purpose and function, and to the aims and objects of those who pursue it as a profession or a hobby, in relation to time and space, subject-matter and scope, contents, and character of contents, etc, will be considered, as far as possible, in all important

1. Jaffar: Archives—Meaning, Scope and Importance, pp. 1, ff.

aspects. Thinkers have come and gone, but their thoughts are still alive to enliven the world. We will quote from the contemporary sources to bring into focus the hold of history on the heads and hearts of the people and the place it occupied in the realm of letters. Here again we will depend upon the definitions of history already dealt with in connection with the development of historical sense in the East and the West.[2] We will refrain from resorting to repetition and shall be content with passing references to a few of them, where necessary, and abbreviation of some more specially reserved for the purpose.

Historiography in the East.

History started as a spoken word or story. It was preserved by writtem words in relation to time and space. It passed through several stages before it attained the present form. The ancients did not feel it necessary to codify its contents, which were too few and too simple to call for such a treatment. With the increase of population, and the multiplication of historical phenomena, complications cropped up and it became necessary to codify this form of knowledge and to formulate its own laws. Strides in this direction were taken and the result was the rise and growth of a new discipline now known as historiography. What is historiography?[3] It is not only history-writing and therefore a separate subject, a distinct discipline, a science, a philosophy and an art with a history of its own, but also a process of philosophizing and theorizing, observation and experimentation, comprehension and communication, which too has a history.[4]

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2. See Chapters I, II, III, IV and VIII.

3. As-Sahawi: I'lan in Rosenthal's **History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 185.

4. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, p. 3; Perry: **Realms of Value**, pp. 380, ff.

As a discipline it is concerned with such important questions as:

> How should history be studied? How should it be presented? With what aims should it be written? What are sources of historical knowledge, and how are we to judge of their genuineness, integrity, and credibility? What are the aids, instruments, conditions, and processes of historical research? In what ways are the materials of history to be collected, sifted, analysed, compared, and distributed? How are we to trace the movement of history as an organic evolution, to estimate institutions and events according to their real significance in relation to one another, and to the whole of which they are parts, and to attain to a clear and truthful apprehension of the spirit of history, separated from which all else in it must be merely shell and husk? What are the mental requirements of the historian? What are the qualities of good historical art, and the style appropriate to each variety of historical composition? To answer these and similar questions is the office of *Historic*, as it is now commonly called.[5]

Early Works.

Let us now turn to the East and see how these quesions were answered by the early Muslim historians according to their own concepts. No reader of Muslim historiography can afford to miss six important works on the subject, viz. (1) *Al-Mukhtasar fi Ilm ut Tarikh* of Al-Kafiji, (2) *Muqaddima* of Allama Ibn Khaldun, (3) *Al-I'lan bit Taubikh li-man Zamma Ahl-ut-Tarikh* of As-Sahawi, (4) *Miftah-us-Sa'adah*, part of which is devoted to Historiography, (5) *Kashf-uz-Zunun* of Haji Khalifah, containing a long section on the same subject, and (6) *Fazlakat Aqwal ul Akhbar fi Ilm ut Tarikh wal Akhbar* of the same author. The last work "which might have contained valuable remarks on historiography" is now extinct.[6] A brief reference has already been made to the *Muqaddima*, which deals with the science

5. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, p. 14.

6. Rosenthal: **History of Muslim Historiography**, pp. 177, ff.

of history.[7] It remains to review the remaining works with a view to tracing the history of historiography with due regard to its importance.

Al-Mukhtasar.

This is "the oldest Muslim monograph on the theory of historiography which is known to us." It was written in 867 H/1463 A. D. It was modelled on "the methodology of jurisprudence." It is remarkable for its original approach and execution. It answers the question about the character of the science, its object, purpose and use, and devotes considerable space to the solution of the problems which grew out of the ambiguity of the word *Tarikh* which meant history as well as date and era and the place of the science in Muslim religious learning. It defines the meaning of history and deals with the basic principles and problems of historiography, the excellence of scholarship, the nobility of scholars, the importance of recording and the instructiveness of the lessons of history.[8] The following few passages from it should suffice to sum up its importance.

> Historiography is a branch of learning which investigates time-sections and the circumstances prevailing in them, as well as the circumstances which are connected with those time-sections, with a view to their fixation as to time.[9]

> Its object is remarkable happenings which are of interest, which create a desire (for good actions) and constitute a warning (against evil deeds), which engender energy (to do good deeds) and which are hindrance (in the way of doing evil), which give advice and contain instruction, which are enjoyable and impressive. The condition is that those happenings are clearly defined and their time established and that they are then carefully set down for a sound purpose.[10]

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7. See pages 44, ff. Also see Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 157, ff. and Issawi: **An Arab Philosophy of History,** pp. 1, ff.

8. **Al-Kafiji: Al-Mukhtasar** in Rosenthal's **History of Muslim Historiography** pp. 177. ff.

9. **Ibid.,** p. 182.

10. **Ibid.,** p. 184.

History is a branch of learning just like the other codified branches.........the knowledge of history is necessary as a community duty (*Farz-ul-Kafaya*), because it presents the best available method of establishing the chronology of the whole course of human affairs, including the other life.[11]

That the ancients were able to dispense with a codification of history casts no suspicion upon its necessary character. The necessary character of the other branches of learning also is not suspect (on account of the fact that they were not codified by the ancients). The ancients lived in a time of truthfulness and trust. They knew the matters and occurrences that came to their attention. They were thus able to dispense with the codification of jurisprudence, let alone that of anything else. In that time, the events were few. They have become very numerous in our time. A well-organised treatment of them was, therefore, called for. Such well-organised treatment is provided by historiography. Its perfection and perpetuation is accomplished only through codification. Codification (of history) and, correspondingly, that of all other branches of learning is, therefore, necessary.[12]

In fact, the useful aspects of history are innumerable. This noble branch of learning, for instance, comprises all individual events in a well-organised manner. Without it, people would not be able to make a distinction between sound and corrupt (information). They would move completely in the dark and be like the (proverbial) gatherers of wood in the night. Historiography is the yardstick and standard of events. Measured at it, they take on the right proportions and become acceptable to the thoughtful....[13]

These are the notions which are acquired by the historian who wants to write about something:

1—The notion of being present and seeing with his own eyes.

2—The notion of certain knowledge.

3—The notion of probability.

4.—The notion of contradiction without the possibility of giving preference to one (case) or another.

5—A notion that differs from the four preceding ones.[14]

11. Ibid., p. 184.
12. Ibid., p. 185.
13. Ibid., p. 186.
14. Ibid., p. 189.

This is followed by a set of instructions and examples whereby the historian is 'protected from wrong and misleading statements.' 'The question may be asked,' the author adds, 'whether the historian is permitted to include in his work a doubtful story.' He furnishes the answer in the affirmative and says that the historian can do so for inculcating a desire for doing good things and a fear for refraining from evil acts. He, however, warns that the historian is not permitted to use doubtful statements while dealing with the essence and attributes of the Creator or the Laws.[15] With regard to the character, qualifications, etc. of the historian, he says:

> The same four qualifications which are required from transmitters of traditions are also required from the historian. He is required to be *intelligent*, *accurate*, *a good Muslim*, and *fair*. (In the possession of these qualifications) both the historian and the transmitter of traditions will be reliable in religious matters and trustworthy.[16]

Al-I'lan.

As-Sahawi (831-902/1427-1497) was so much influenced by Al-Kafiji's ideas that "without the *Short Work on Historiography*, As-Sahawi's *Open Denunciation* (*I'lan*) would not have been possible.' The problems and their presentation in both the works appear to be the same, but As-Sahawi was 'explicit' where Al-Kafiji was 'most sketchy' and he 'filled a great gap in Al-Kafiji's work by giving full bibliographical information on all aspects of Muslim historiography.' According to Rosenthal: "In the *I'lan* the author has erected a worthy monument to Arabic historiography" and in spite of its shortcomings, judged by modern standards, it still "remains a fine survey of Muslim historiography and—for those

15. Ibid., pp. 186-87.

16. Ibid. Cf. Barni: Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, pp. 13-14.

who know how to read it—of its aspirations and problems" and "an accurate picture of its final achievements and failures."[17] Here is a gist of the work in the words of the author: Definition of the term *Tarikh* both linguistic and technical: its object, usefulness and goal; its classification as *necessary*, *desirable*, *forbidden* and *permissible*; evidence in its favour from the *Quran*, the *Sunnah* and other sources; blameworthiness of its adverse critics; necessary qualifications for historians; institution of Islamic era; important works on history, persons, trends and other subjects; authors of historical works and representatives of 'personality criticism.'[18] The following few passages will vouchsafe the merits of this first work on Muslim Historiography.

> In sum, the term *tarikh* signifies a branch of learning that is concerned with research regarding the occurrences which take place in time, in the intention to establish their character and their place in time. In fact, it is concerned with everything that was (and is) in the world.[19]

> The object of history is man and time. The problems with which history is concerned are the circumstances of man and time broken down to details within the general framework of the accidental circumstances which exist for man and in time.[20]

> The instructiveness of history consists in the knowledge of matters as they actually are. Among other things, history is most useful in that it constitutes one of the ways of learning how to eliminate one of the two mutually contradictory traditions which it is difficult to reconcile with each other.[21]

This is followed by a number of illustrations[22] and thereafter we come across more quotations on the usefulness of history. For instance:

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17. Rosenthal: History of Muslim Historiography, pp. 195. ff.

18. As-Sahawi: I'lan in Rosenthal's History of Muslim Historiography, pp. 202-03. 19. Ibid., p. 205. 20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p. 206, ff. 22. Ibid., pp. 205, ff.

Great usefulness and much instructiveness is also found in the historical information about kings and their politics, about the reasons of the formation of dynasties, their ascendancy as well as the reason of their dissolution, about the administration of military men and wazirs, and about related circumstances which in a similar fashion recur continually in the world. He who knows this aspect of history is like a man who has lived through all ages, has experienced everything, and has personally tried out all those circumstanees. His mind grows. He becomes experienced, and free from all ignorance and inexperience.[23]

The knowledge of history increases man's intellectual capacity.[24]

Dealing with the part of history classified as *forbidden*, As-Sahawi says:

It further applies to reports about kings and great personalities who are described as wine-bibbers and debauchers. Those reports are difficult to verify. The historian (who reports such stories) is wrong in either case. If the report is true, he has given publicity to debauchery. If it is not true, he has (committed the sin of) slander. Especially, it also implies making it easy for other (kings and great personalities) who commit the same errors. However, historical information (*akhbar* is never free from (at least) some such (bad thing).[25]

Rnlers and amirs commit one of their greatest mistakes if they look at the policies of their predecessors, act accordingly but without considering the requirements of religious law, and then call their actions, which are not in agreement with the religious law, *policy*. The religious law is (the only) policy and not the arbitrary actions and opinions of the rulers. Their obvious error lies in the fact that, according to what they claim, the religious law did not indicate the means of satisfactory policy and that therefore, we need, we think, something supplementary. They kill those who ought not to be killed. They do that which ought not to be done. And that they call policy! This is a high-handed use of the religious law, which is similar to spiteful abuse[26]

"We just transmitted those (allegedly calumniatory statements) and did not invent them."—Al-Bukhari.[27].

23. Ibid., p. 216.
24. Ibid., p. 217.
25. Ibid., pp. 265-66.
26. Ibid., p. 266.
27. Ibid., p. 272. Cf. pp. 87, ff.

"Are you refraining from exposing an evil-doer? Expose him and his evil deeds, so that mankind may be on guard against him. There is no calumny as far as the wicked are concerned."
—Muhammad.[28]

"Criticism of the transmitters is necessary. It serves to put the religious law upon a firmer basis."[29]

As to the duties of the historian and the qualifications required of him, their observance and their violation, we have such information from As-Sahawi as follows:

The nccessary qualifications required of those who occupy themselves with history are *fairness*, together with complete *correctness* which generates extraordinary *accuracy* and *discretion*.[30]

According to Az-Zahabi, there were among the Caliphs, their forbears and families some of whose condition the exponents of personality criticism refrained from revealing. They were afraid that they would suffer bodily harm. Said Az-Zahabi: "This has always been true with regard to every dynasty in power. Historians used to describe their good sides and close their eyes to the bad ones.[31]

So it was when the historian was a religious and good man. (like Az-Zahabi). However, when he was a sycophantic flatterer, he did not bother about morality, He often mentioned the bad sides and shortcomings of a great man in the guise of praise and as if those things were an indication of nobility and greatness. It is better to exercise discretion regarding the expressions (one uses) and to steer clear of outspokenness beyond secret allusions.[32]

Hatred should (at least) not cause the historian to adopt unfair methods, even if he as a rule-is untrustworthy (because of the existence of hatred).[33]

The historian must be acquainted with the process of transmission. He must pronounce himself only with regard to that which he has found to be *true*.[34]

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28. **Ibid.**, p. 273, notes 3-4.
29. **Ibid.**, p. 276.
30. **Ibid.**, p. 287, note 2.
31. **Ibid.**, pp. 292-93.
32. **Ibid.**, p. 293.
33. **Ibid.**, p. 294.
34. **Ibid.**, p. 296.

The historian should avoid devoting his attention to discreditable incidents which took place in the youth of a person who, with God's help, later on became a model for others...There are, however, people whose faults must not be mentioned. In the case of the man whose virtues are greater than his shortcomings the latter should be thrown in with the former.[35]

He should follow the statement of Muhammad: 'Put people into their proper stations, that is respective good or bad (stations they deserved in view of their qualifications). The historian should report only what he is forced to tell, in the case of beatings, prison terms, humiliations, and the like which persons of dignity and authority may have suffered at the hands of the ruler (of their time). If possible, he should indicate wherever disapproval is required.[36]

Another qualification which is required of the historian is (moral) *austerity* (fairness, *wara*') and the fear of God. He will thus refrain from resorting to guess work and disputed combinations.[37]

The historian must be a *scholar*. He must be *fair*. He must be acquinted with the condition of the persons whose biographies he writes.[38]

Historians often either give the people less honour (than they deserve), or exalt them (more than they deserve). The reason is either bias or ignorance or blind reliance upon the material of an unworthy transmitter, or some other such reason." As-Subki.[39]

He also must possess a good style, a knowledge of the exact meaning of (technical) phrases, and a good imagination so as to be able to grasp in his mind the whole picture of the individual whose biography he writes and to present it (to the reader) with no more and no less words (than necessary).[40]

He must not be overcome by prejudice. Prejudice overcomes everybody, except those whom God protects.[41]

The goal of (the occupation with) history, said As-Sahawi, is the hope for God's kindness. God will nor fail to reward those who did something well. Actions (are judged) by intentions.[42]

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35. Ibid., pp. 297.
36. Ibid., pp. 297-98.
37. Ibid., p. 299.
38. Ibid., pp. 299-300.
39. Ibid. As-Subki quoted.
40. Ibid., p. 301.
41. Ibid., p. 302.
42. Ibid., pp. 262, 301.

As-Sahawi has profusely quoted from the works of competent authors on the usefulness, instructiveness and constructiveness of history. He has devoted considerable space to the historical literature produced by the Muslims all over the world. Biographies of all classes—Prophets and Peoples, Caliphs and Kings, Saints and Singers, Ministers and Marshals, Muftis and Kazis, Poets and Philosophers, etc. show the range of the output and the breadth as well as the depth of the Muslim Mind.[43]

Miftah-us-Sa'adah.

This is the title of an encyclopacedia compiled by Tashkopruzadeh (d. 968/1560). It contains sections on history which "may be considered a late reflex of the research on historiograpy which had found its literary expression in the monographs of Al-Kafiji and As-Sahawi."[44] It deals with the classes of history, historical works and the information contained therein.[45] The following extracts from it show the meaning, object, purpose and usefulness of this discipline:

> History is the knowledge of the conditions of (national or religious) groups, their countries, laws and customs, the crafts practiced by their individual members, their genealogies and dates of death, etc.[46]

> The object of history is the conditions of the individuals of the past, such as prophets, saints, scholars, sages, poets, kings, rulers, and others.[47]

> The purpose of history is to become acquainted with the conditions of the past.[48]

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43. **Ibid.**, pp. 301 ff., 316, ff.

44. Rosenthal: **History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 451.

45. Tashkopruzadeh: **Miftah-us-Sa'adah** in Rosenthal's **History of Muslim Historiography**, pp. 452, ff.

46. **Ibid.**, p. 452. 47. **Ibid.** 48. **Ibid.**

The usefulness of history is (the opportunity that it affords) to learn from those conditions, to seek advice in them, and to form the habit of experience through the acquaintance with the vicissitudes of time. This will serve as a protection against damages similar to those reported (from the past), and as a means to produce similar habits. History has been said to constitute an additional life for (its) students and (to give) in its domain enjoyment of profits which (otherwise) come (only) to travellers.[49]

Kashf-uz-Zunun.

This 'great bibliographical dictionary' of Haji Khalifa (d. 1067 H.) contains a long section on historiography. Haji Khalifa agrees with Tashkopruzadeh in his treatment of history and quotes a paragraph from his work in support, but he differs with him in his dichotomy of historiography and discards his subdivision of historical works. He begins with the definition of the term *Tarikh.*[50]

Usefulness of History.

Muslims all over the world believed that historical accounts of great men were a source of enjoyment and information, instruction and inspiration. There is no doubt that they moulded the minds and stimulated the spirits of their readers. The innate desire of ambitious aspirants found full expression in the following invocations: "I wish that Al-Khatib Al-Baghdadi would have mentioned me in History, even if it had been as an untruthful (*hadis*/scholar)" and "I wish that he would write my biography."[51] This was so because of the truth embodied in such statements as: "No one is dead whom memory keeps alive."—"The kings and the rich spent money on buildings, fortresses, and castles only for the

49. **Ibid,**

50. Rosenthal: **History of Muslim Historiography,** p. 451, Haji Khalifa: **Kash-uz-Zunun.**

51. As-Sawahi: **I'lan** in Rosenthal's **History of Muslim Historiography,** pp. 217, ff.

perpetuation of their memory. A tale is all that a person leaves behind. Strive that your tale be known as good and kind."—"The study of history (*Akhbar-un-nas*) is a mirror for the observer."—History is the means through which God keeps alive the memory of those of His servants who in His opinion merit that and deserve His fine reward and compensation."[52] There is ample evidence to show that history loomed large in the education of princes and people at large. "Read historical works, study biographies and experiences of nations" was the advice of a Muslim scholar. Special stress was laid on Islamic history by another scholar who said: "Shame on those who do not know it." Another scholar struck a similar note in the same strain when he said: "Nothing could be more disgraceful for them than to ignore the history (*akhbar*) of their own country, while, perhaps they may be engaged in the study of the history of other countries."[53] As-Sahawi supported these statements by citing two instances, one of a postmaster general whose duty was to know all about the affairs of others but who knew nothing about his own daughter who paid frequent visits to her lover on the pretext of going out for a bath, and the other of ostrich which leaves its own eggs as it goes in search of food and hatches those it comes across, knowing nothing of its own. The expression that so and so was a country egg signified that his father was not known. Those who knew nothing about their own past and the past of their own country, but knew much about others and their past were regarded as the eggs of ostrich.[54] *Ayyam-un-nas* or

52. Ibid, pp. 221-24. 53. Barni: Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, pp. 12-14; Hasan Barni: Ziad-ud-Din Barni, Islamic Culture, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 92-96; Rosenthal: History of Muslim Historiography, pp. 28, ff., 223, ff., 253-54.

54. As-Sahawi: I'lan in Rosenthal's History of Muslim Historiography, pp. 253-54.

the History of Humanity was hailed as one of the *royal sciences*. Al-Bukhari put *History* on par with *Hadis* when he wrote them alternately at the Prophet's tomb and masjid at Medina in moonlit nights and offered two *Rakats* in prayer after writing each chapter of either. According to As-Sahawi "history alone decides the accuracy and importance of *hadis*."[55] Enough! Prophets and Princes, peoples and persons could not do without it. The Holy Quran and other sacred scriptures are full of it. *Hadis* is but another name for *History*.[56] With the rise to power and the conquests that followed, "Muslims began to show a double interest—in their own past and in the past of the peoples whom they had subjugated."[57] The result was a rich harvest of history and historiography. It will be interesting and instructive to know the history of importance attached to history from time to time in the Muslim World. Here again As-Sahawi has rendered our task extremely easy and we can safely rely upon his *I'lan* or Proclamation on History for a hurried survey such as this.

Al-Junaid: Significance of Stories.

Professor Abdul Qasim Al-Junaid (d. 298/910-1) regarded *stories* as God's armies through which He steadies the hearts of His saints. Asked about his authority, he quoted from the Quran: "We shall tell you all the stories of the messengers (of old) through which we shall steady your heart."[58]

Al-Masudi: Valuable Asset.

Abdul Hasan Ali *bin* Al-Husain *bin* Ali Al-Masudi, (d. 345/956) who was inspired by the savants and scholars of the past and who aspired to leave

55. Ibid., p. 261. 56. See Chapter IX—Islamic Ideology.
57. Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. I, p. 338.
58. As-Sahawi: I'lan in Rosenthal's History of Muslim Historiograpy, p. 256.

behind a *well-arranged knowledge* of history to perpetuate his memory, recorded the following statement on the usefulness of this subject.

> History is a branch of knowledge which is enjoyed by both scholars and ignorant persons and which is relished by both the stupid and the intelligent. Everything remarkable becomes known through history. Every marvel gains its appreciation through it. Noble and sublime character qualities are derived from it. The political education of kings and others is based on it. History collects for you the first and the last (of persons and things), insufficiency and abundance, nomadic life and city life(persons and) things of the present and the past. Many judgments (regarding the moral and legal character of things) are based upon history. The knowledge of it is considered an asset in any gathering and station.[59]

Ibn Faris: Islamic History.

Abu Husain *bin* Faris (d. after 390/999-1000) a great grammarian and lexicographer, emphasized the importance of Islamic History in these words:

> Every Muslim ought to have a knowledge of this. Shame upon the person who thinks of himself as a scholar and does not know who the earliest emigrants were; who cannot distinguish between those who contributed and fought before the Conquest (of Mecca and those who contributed after it; who does not know who those fighters at Badr were, concerning whom it was said: 'Do whatever you want. I have forgiven you;' who does not know who those participants in the oath of allegiance and agreement (at Hudaybiyah) were whom the Fire will not touch; and who does not know who those men of Medina were, of whom we are to reward those who do good, and leave unpunished those who do evil, and whom to love is (true) believing.[60]

Ibn Maska waih: Experience.

Abu Ali Ahmad *bin* Muhammad *bin* Yaqub Ar-Razi Maskawaih (d. 421/1030) whom we have

59. Ibid., p. 222. 60. Ibid., p.247.

already quoted in connection with the theory of evolution and the concept of prophetic and human vision, said that 'his critical investigation of the historical information (*akhbar*) about nations and the biographies of kings and his study of the historical information about countries and of the works on history (*twarikh*) gave him a useful "experience" in matters that will always repeat themselves and in a similar form can always be expected to recur.' He composed his *Tajarib* (Experiences) *Al-Umam wa Awaqibul-Himam* in four volumes, a Supplement to which was contributed by Wazir-ul-Hazratain *Ibn* Shuja Muhammad *Ibn* Al-Husain *Ibn* Abdullah Al-Baghdadi.[61]

Al-Hamadani: Mirror.

Referring to the increasing popularity of history in his times, Muhammad *bin* Abdul Malik *bin* Ibrahim Al-Hamadani (d. 521/1127) summed up the importance of the subject in his Supplement to the *History* of Ibn Jarir in these words:

> History was eagerly studied by men of praiseworthy and excellent qualities....The instances of success which are found in history serve as a momento of (divine) favours and the instances of trouble which are observed in it serve as an awakening and a warning.[62]
>
> The study of history (*akhbar-un-nas*) is a mirror for the observer. It tells the truth and thus arouses in him the desire for good deeds and makes him afraid of evil ones. It serves to improve men of insight and natural qualifications. History is the means through which God keeps alive the memory of those of His servants who in His opinion merit that and deserve His fine reward and compensation.[63]

Ibn Al-Jauzi: Stories.

Abul Farj *bin* Al-Jauzi (Abdur Rahman *bin* Ali *bin* Al-Jauzi, (d. 597/1200) in his Introduction to the

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61. Ibid., 252. 62. Ibid., p. 222. 63. Ibid., p. 224.

Muntazam referred to the twofold importance of Biography (*Siyar*) and History (*Akhbar*) in these words:

1—The story of the life of a prudent man and the description of the result he achieved will lead to the good management and prudent handling of one's own affairs. On the other hand the story of the life of an immoderate person and the description of the end he found will generate a fear of immoderation. This is an education for the powerful and a lesson for the thoughtful. It implies a sharpening of the intellect. It is a garden for pleasure-seekers in the realm of traditional knowledge.[64]

2—The student of history becomes acquainted with wondrous affairs, the changes of time, the vicissitudes of destiny, and (the enjoyment of) listening to stories (*akhbar*). Abu Amr bin Al-'Ala asked a man of (the tribe of) Bakr bin Wa'il who had become so old that he could no longer enjoy the pleasures of eating, drinking, and sexual intercourse, whether he would not like to die. No, he replied, and when asked what pleasure was left to him, he said: 'I still can listen to wondrous stories.'[65]

Referring to the recreative relaxation and the intellectual food provided by the same subjects and stressing their importance in his own abridgement of the *Muntazam*, called *Sudur-ul-Uqud fi Tarikh-ul-Uhud*, he wrote down:

Histories and biographies are a relaxation for the mind and a diversion as well as an intellectual stimulus. The story of the marvels of creation shows the greatness of the Maker.[66]

Al-Ishbahani: Connection.

Philosophizing on the role of history in human affairs and emphasizing its indispensability in an account of the conquest of Jerusalem by Salah-ud-din Ayyubi, entitled *Fath-ul-Qudsi*, Imad-ud-din Muhammad *bin* Muhammad *bin* Hamid Al Ishbahani (d. 597/1201) recorded the following remarks :

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64. Ibid., p. 227. 65. Ibid., p. 227. 66. Ibid.

Histories customarily start with the beginning of creation or with some dynasty. There is no nation or dynasty to which reference can be made without *Tarikh* (history/era). It is transmitted from generation to generation, from the men of the past (who had connection with a certain dynasty) to those of the present. It holds fast the fleeting events of the day, and it clearly shows the significance of noteworthy men. If this were not the case, connections would be interrupted. No knowledge of (past) dynasties would exist. The memory of men of the past would be dead in the days of later generations. Human beings would not realize that they are deeply rooted in the soil, that they are drops that come from the dark recesses of the spinal cord in a long process, that their lives begin in the remote past of Adam, and that the Lord took their progeny out of their backs to let them have as much pre-eminence as He beforehand wanted them to have. Let it thus be known to man (through history) that there is little room for him before the end of his life and before he descends into his grave, as there is between a fold and its opening, and let him have in one (life) the experience of ten. He traversed one life after the other and travelled through one age after the other (throngh history)... Without history, the efforts of the representatives of good policies would be lost. There would be no praise to distinguish between them and the representatives of bad policies. It would be difficult to learn (lesson) from the good and bad outcome of events. The fact that easy times follow upou difficult ones, and *vice versa*, would remain unknown.[67]

Al-Azadi: Instruction and Enjoyment.

In the *Akhbar-ud-Duwal-ul-Islamiyah* of Abul Hasan Ali *bin* Abul Mansur Zafir *bin* Husain Al-Azadi (613/1216) we come across the following note on the subject :

If the usefulness of history would consist only in the lesson it contains that time does not stand still and that change is its only persistent quality, it would be enough to fulfill all expectations. However, the various aspects of its usefulness and unique (instructiveness) are innumerable. The student of history combines instruction extracted from its lessons with enjoyment obtained from its rich contents.[68]

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67. Ibid., pp. 227-28.

68. Ibid., pp. 229.

Ibn-ul-Asir: Contemporaniety.

Izz-ud-din Abul Hasan Ali *bin* Muhammad *bin* Muhammad bin Abdul Karim *bin* Al-Asir (630/1234) incorporated in his *Kamil* a long note on the importance of history in both the worlds (here and hereafter). Here we can quote but a couple of extracts from it.

Would that I know what difference there is between things seen or heard yesterday and things read in books which contain historical information about the men of the past. Reading about them is like being their contemporary, and knowing events is like being present when they took place... history gives man experience and a knowledge of events and their outcome. It also teaches him that nothing can happen to him that which did not happen before. His intelligence increases and he becomes worthy of imitation ......in parties and gatherings, it is very becoming for a person to mention some historical information and to tell some interesting anecdote. All ears can be observed listening to him and all eyes looking at him, and everyone wants to hear all he has to say and is very appreciative of his remarks.[69]

Truly intelligent persons who reflect about (the lessons of history) will notice that the world turns its peaple up and down and plays havoc with its most prominent inhabitants. It takes away their lives and treasures and annihilates the young as well as the old. It spares neither the great nor the humble, and neither the rich nor the poor are safe from its misfortunes.. The intelligent persons .. will feel a desire for a home (in the next world) which is free from all those (wordly) peculiarities and whose people are safe from those shortcomings.[70]

Ali bin Khamis: Assiduous Study.

Abu Bakr Muhammad *bin* Muhammad *bin* Ali *bin* Khamis (636/1239) summed np the importance of History by saying: "Next to the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*, the most deserving subjects of assiduous study are history and biography." Abu Is-haq Ibrahim *bin* Abdullah *bin* Abdul Momin *bin* Abi-d-dam Al-

69. Ibid., pp. 229-31. 70. Ibid., p. 231

Faqih Ash Shafi'i (d. 612/1244) said: "This branch of learning (history) is like a superstructure on top of the religio-legal sciences which are the basis of our (study), and the different fields of traditional and intellectual learning which we pursue."[71]

Ibn Al-Jauzi: Origins and Causes.

Sibt *Ibn* Al-Jauzi (d. 654/1257) laid specific stress on 'a knowledge of the origins and the causes of growth.' "By pondering the currents of destiny and the origins of night and day," he said: "they (good people) come to be like persons who themselves lived in the times and experienced the events (which they have been studying)." He wrote his own work because, he said: 'Histories as a rule are a hodge-podge of miscellaneous (information) and present a useless repetition of an amount of material of unmanageable proportions.[72]

Al-Madani: Revivifying Force.

Abul Qasim Muhammad *bin* Yusuf Al-Madani, (d. 656/1258), author of the *History of Balkh*, recorded his remarks on the importance of history, which were reproduced by As-Sahawi in his *I'lan* with some additions as follows:

It revives the memory of the early and recent scholars of Balkh and those who came there from abroad. Remembering is (giving) new life, and restoring this (new life) is like reviving all mankind. It also revives the impression they made, the acquaintance with their actions, their asceticism, their austerity (*wara'*), their religiosity, trust in God in the face of great trials and tribulations. Their character qualities will be adopted by those who look (at their history). The circumstances of their life will deeply impress those who hear (about them). Nature is docile, and man is a slave to custom. At times, the ear falls in love earlier than the eye. The reason of salvation is straightforwardness in life and activity. In order to achieve it, a certain stimulus and guide is needed, such as the company of pious men or the study of

71. Ibid., p. 232-33. 72. Ibid., p. 233.

their life and accomplishments, when it is difficult to enjoy their personal company. The soul can thus picture for itself their essential qualities and gain an idea of their teachings. Of actual vision nothing remains but a memory in the mind. Therefore, hearing and seeing are equivalent, and the report(of a third person) is equivalent to actual vision, although in reality there is a great difference between them. If there is no downpour, there is (at least) dew. The memory of pious men is a source of (divine) mercy, an instructive momento for later generations. Without books, most historical information (*al akhbar wal ahwal*) would be forgotton. After a short while, the memory of any human being, whatever his condition, would be lost. A cherished pearl and treasured jewel is the science of traditions, It is the foundation of Islam, the basis of the laws, the science which decides what is permitted and what is forbidden, the model to be followed by both the elite and the common people, the explanation of the sum total of the *Quran*, and the centre of truth and correctness.[73]

Al-Yaghmuri: Safeguard.

Stressing the need for specialization for gaining distinction in a specific subject, another expert, Jamal-ud-din Abul Mahasin Al-Yaghmuri (d. 673/1274-5) thus brings out the practical use and philosophy of history :

> One of the principal branches of learning is history. History leads to the acquaintance with the great men of all times. It explains the events, the news, and the influential occurrences that happened at all times. . . .. Historical knowledge is a safeguard against mistakes—and against the accusation of having made mistakes—in statements about great men.[74]

Al-Khazin: Usefulness.

Taj-ud-din Abu Talib Ali *bin* Anjab Al-Khazin also called *Ibn* As-Sa'i (593/1197-674/1275) regarded history as "the most restful subject for the tired mind to read about and to study, the most useful and instructive means to ward off worldly worries, the best entertainment and the most pleasant information," as an 'incentive to practice virtue and avoid

73. Ibid., p. 24-25.

74. Ibid., p. 253.

evil, as 'a lesson for the receptive and an experience for the thoughtful' etc. and said:

"The contemplation of history leads to the recognition of the oneness and uniqueness of the Creator, because reflection about the currents of destiny, the shifts of periods, the change of night and day, the continuous succession and rotation of nations and dynasties contains an advice for the receptive and earnest advice for the negligent." God said: 'We shall cause those days to take turns among men. If the only aspect of the usefulness of history would be a diminished confidence in this passing world and an increased desire for the lasting other world, it would suffice for the good deeds which conscience urgently desires (man) to practice.[75]

Ali Al-Ansari: A Blessing.

Abu Zaid Abdur Rahman *bin* Muhammad *bin* Ali Al-Ansari Al-Qayurwani, the author of the History of Al-Qayurwani, (d. 696/1297), "restricted himself to the religious scholars and pious servants of God" and said: "Their memory is a source of abundant blessings and a means to attract many (divine) favours. The memory of pious men is a source of (divine) mercy."[76]

Al-Birzali: Instruction and Insight.

Alam-ud-din Abu Muhammad Al-Qasim *bin* Muhammad Al-Birzali (d. 665/1267-739/1339) regarded history as 'one of the most desirable branches of learning, one of the most useful and splendid objects of study, and one of the most perfect and brilliant topics of conversation," and said: "It is a way to instruction and a path leading to insight. It is a precious gift that makes one actually see the nations of the past. It is a relaxation which cheers the heart of the reader and loosens his tongue."[77]

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75. Ibid., pp. 236-37. 76. Ibid., p. 237. 77. Ibid., p. 238.

Al-Udfuwi: Method and Treatment.

Kamal-ud-din Ja'far Al-Udfuwi (d. 748/1347) considered history as 'a necessary branch of learning, which supplies information about the people of the past, helps in judging between the deserving and the undeserving, the reliable and the unreliable, etc. and 'shows the methods they used, the character qualities they possessed and the truths they found for mankind' and ensured 'the smooth preservation of genealogical lines.' With regard to the historical output, the method of treatment and the scope of the subject, he observed: "Expert scholars and (intellectually) awake religious leaders wrote historical works as numerous as the stars of heaven. Some arranged their works chronologically, others alphabetically, so that they might be grander and more exalted. Some chose a particular country, others dealt with all regions and groups."[78]

Ibn Khaldun: Science.

Wali-ud-din Ibn Khaldun (732/1332-808/1406) regarded history as 'a species of knowledge, universally esteemed, largely cultivated, and manifoldly useful.' According to Flint, 'he was the first writer to treat history as the proper object of a special science.' We have already dealt with him and his work within the limited compass. Those interested in the subject should refer to the *Muqaddima* (Prolegomena) for details and to the note on the Prolegomena by Flint for a good summary.[79]

Al-Maqrizi: Lessons.

Taqi-ud-din Al-Maqrizi (766/1364-845/1442) divided knowledge into two parts: intellectual and traditional. He laid special stress on the study of history and its lessons and said:

78. Ibid., p. 238.

79. See pp. 44, ff. Also Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 157, ff. and Issawi: **An Arab Philosophy of History**.

How bad does it look if a person, who is considered a scholar and who thinks of himself as an educated and learned man, is able to answer a question about God's Prophets, in whom he is to believe, by merely giving their names, but does not know what those names imply. How bad does it look if a man who undertakes to teach and give *Fatwas* or to function as a judge does not know the details of Muhammad's life, his genealogy, his beautiful ways of living, his exalted position, and his essential and accidental virtues, things which every believer must know and everyone who is considered a scholar must have studied.'[80]

The historian (of the past) makes the days (of the past) part of his own life and the historian of his own period makes those future (generations), who are not of his own time, witness it.[81]

God organized mankind so that one generation would come after the other, and each group follow in the foot-steps of the former. The first ones would thus leave their stories to those after them as an exhortation and example, and the later ones would keep alive the memory and spread the fame of their predecessors. As a result, intelligent persons will be deterred from doing things which evoke criticism and which are recognized as evil. The educated will go after the best and finest character qualities,[82]

Al-Kafiji: Information.

Muhiyud-din Al-Kafiji, author of *Al-Mukhtasar*, which we have already reviewed, regarded history as 'a branch of learning which comprises the whole range of human affairs, including the other life.' According to him, it was 'instructive and remarkable in innumerable aspects.' He pronounced it as 'a treasury of of information about peoples and persons'—'a mine of wonderful and remarkable things' — 'an ocean of pearls and corals.'[83]

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80. Al-Maqrizi quoted by As-Sahawi in his **Al-Mukhtasar.** See Rosenthal: **History of Muslim Historiography**, pp. 246-47.

81. **Ibid.**, p. 247. 82. **Ibid.**, p. 248. 83. **Ibid.**, pp. 248-49.

As-Sahawi: Verification.

Finally, As-Sahawi has expressed his own views also about history. Quoting from his *Tibr*, he has recounted the practical advantages of this discipline and assigned it a high place in religious literature. Referring to historical literature in poetry, he says:

I know of excellent poems in praise of history. I like many of the verses which show desirability of an unrelenting occupation with history. The clearest are those of Judge Al-Arrajani. They are original both in form and contents:

A man who knows the record of the past
Seems to have always lived, aince time began.

His life will last as long as time will last,
For he preserved the noble deeds of man.

The good and kind and men of knowledge vast
For ever live. Gain thus life's longest span.[84]

Such repetition as we have noticed in the above account was inevitable in tracing the history of history in that it showed the trend of historical thought and the increasing importance attached to history at different periods of time. As an effective check and counter-check against occasional departure from the salutary standards and prescribed procedure in principle and practice, in several cases, it had an importance of its own.

Indo-Muslim Historiography.

How Muslims identified themselves with their own countries and with the countries they conquered is evident from the interest they took in their past.[85] At least one specific instance of their interest in the past of the peoples under their sway must be cited here in support. India affords an excellent specimen. We have already epitomized the achievements of the

84. Ibid., pp. 259-61. 85. Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. I, p. 338.

Great Mughals in Muslim Historiography with special reference to the use of archives as a supreme source of information.[86] We will now wind up by taking three profound proponents of Historiography—Zia-ud-din Barni, Zahir-ud-din Babur and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan—representing the beginning, the middle and the end of Muslim Rule in India.

Barni: Edifying Art or Science.

Barni is regarded as 'the first great Muslim historian of India' with whom his 'profession was a passion'. He held history next only to religion. "I have devoted myself," he said, "to the study of books concerning every subject, and next to Commentaries, Traditions, Theology and Precepts of Saints, nothing proved as useful as history." According to him, 'history is an *art* or *science*, which edifies the wise', inculcates virtue and avoids vice, increases commonsense and promotes the power of thinking and taking correct decisions, helps in judging between right and wrong and dealing justice, preaches patience and perseverence, etc., because it contains accounts of Prophets and pious persons, kings and commanders, etc. To him 'history was mainly a repository of moral and intellectual virtues and an emporium of sublime thoughts, of chastening and elevating emotions.[87] Emphasizing the importance of religion and conscience, knowledge and wisdom, veracity and impartiality, etc. as historian's essential equipment, he observed:

> While recording the good qualities of kings......he should not hide his vices and weaknesses. He should not feel shy of such statement, but should write it plainly if expediency allows, or else he should inform the wise and the learned readers of

86. See pp. 48-50 and Ikram's **Raud-i.Kausar.**

87. H. Barni: **Zia-ud-din Barni: Islamic Culture** Vol. XXII, No. 1, pp. 92-96; Zia Barni: **Tarikh-i Firozshahi** pp. 12-13.

these things by hints. And if through fear he cannot record the weaknesses of his contemporaries, he is helpless. But so far as his predecessors are concerned, he should write the exact truth. And if the historian has been offended either by a king or or a minister or an eminent person, or if he has been favoured by them, he should not in the course of writing make any mention of these things, so that he may uot record a greatness or a virtue or an event which does not belong to the person in question. But the historian must, on the basis of religion, belief, truth and conscience, be a recorder of truth and truth alone. And it is incumbent upon historians to refrain from the ways of liars, flatterers, exaggerators, poets, and romancers, because they call a pebble a gem, and most of their inventions are forgeries and lies. On the Day of Judgment the fraudulent author will suffer the worst pangs.[88]

Babur: Autobiography.

Autobiography is more important than *biography* as a primary source of information. This needs no explanation. There are many who narrate and even exaggerate their good qualities, but very few who do not hide their faults and failures. Babur was one of these few, and "his memoirs form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant." This masterpiece has earned for him the appellation of "Prince of autobiographers." It contains the best and most authentic account of the personal character of the author and the events of is life in a most lucid style and forceful expression. It ranks rightly among the most precious treasures of historical literature. It has justly elicited universal admiration for its enviable excellance. Its greatest beauty is the expession of its author's individuality. It reveals Babur in his true colours with all his virtues and vices. Fit to rank with the best biographies of the world, it stands unique in Asia and will long retain its fame and fascination.[89] To give a summary of such a

88. Barni: **Tarikh-i-Firozshahi**, p. 9.

89. Jaffar: **The Mughal Empire**, pp. 26-27; **Babur and Humayun** in **Elliot's History of India As Told By Its Own Historians**, p. 1; Ikram: **Raud-i-Kausar**, p. 16.

work is to deprive it of its glory and to minimize its importance.[90]

Sir Syed: World-History

It will be in vain indeed to look for such a powerful protagonist of the past in the post-Mughal Period as that mastermind., Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who became a broad-based bridge between the East and the West in very difficult times. The illuminating address, with which he inaugurated the Aligarh Scientific Society in 1864 contained much that would do credit to a professional historian. The following passage from it presents, as perfectly as possible, the deplorable plight of the people owing to their ignorance of the past history of the world and illustrates the importance of the study of world-history:

> Looking at the state of my fellow-countrymen's minds, I find that, from their ignorance of the past history of the world at large, they have nothing to guide them in their future career. From their ignorance of the events of the past, and also of the events of the present, — from their not being acquainted with the manner and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world, — they are unable to take lessons and profit by their experiences. Through this ignorance, also, they are not aware of the causes which have undermined the foundations of those nations once the most wealthy, the most civilized, and the most powerful in the history of their time, and which have since gradually gone to decay or remained stationary instead of advancing with the age."[91]

Local History.

His *Asar-us-Sanadid* and *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* are valuable contributions to Indian historical literature. The former deals with the archaeology of Delhi and the latter is an undaunted exposition of the

90. See Erskine's **Memoirs of Babur.**

91. Graham: **Syed Ahmed Khan,** p. 77. Also see **Ikrām: Mauj-i-Kausar,** pp. 62, ff.

Causes of the Indian Revolt (1857). They show his deep interest in the past of his own country.[92]

Evaluation of Muslim Historiography.

The evidence adduced by As-Sahawi is but a moity of the mass that has come down to us from the contemporary sources. Nevertheless, it is ample enough to show that Muslim Historiography, despite its defects and drawbacks, selfish and self-centred trends and tendencies, emanating from Muslims and not from Islam or Islamic Ideology, maintained a very high standard. According to Rosenthal, Muslim literature contained such a huge amount of historical information that, if used by those who took care to learn Arabic, it may have accelerated the otherwise slow progress of Western Historiography. "The devlopment of modern historical writing," he says, "seems to have gained considerably in speed and substance through the utilization of a Muslim historical literature which enabled Western historians from the seventeenth century on, to see a large section of the world through foreign eyes. Muslim historiography also contributed to the picture of Islam which inspired the historical views of men such as D. Hume TH. WARTON, and, through them, J. G. HERDER, and thus, it helped indirectly and modestly to shape present-day historical thinking." That "Muslim historiograghy was superior to all contemporary non-Muslim works for many centuries" admits of no doubt.[93] The same scholar concludes his evaluation of Muslim Historiography in these words:

> It remains an admirable and immortal giant monument of the searching mediaeval Muslim mind. It also is a vast storehouse of factual information and historical insights

92. Ibid. pp. 9, ff-, 32, ff. Also see Syed Ahmad: **Asar-us-Sanadid and Asbab-i-Baghawat-i- Hind.**

93. Rosenthal: A History of Muslim Historiography, pp. 28, ff. 174.

which up to now has only in part been exploited. And if there is a basic truth which Muslim historiography could teach us after all historiographical efforts, would it not be this that the simple approach to history as a source of facts and examples, both useful and informative, might still be the best key to historical understanding?[94]

The question that arises here is: What was the source of Muslim Historiography? Rosenthal says: "Muslim historiography must first be understood as the self-contained intellectual growth it is."[95] Professor Thompson completely confirms this conclusion when he says:

> Muslim historiography was strikingly independent of previous historiographical tradition in the countries which were conquered by the Crescent. There is no evidence of any translation of any Greek historian into Arabic. Muslim historiography is without a trace of classical influence. It is as if historiography began with a clean slate. This fact is all the more remarkable when it is considered that Persian and Greek science made a profound impression upon Islamic thought.[96]

If Muslim historical thought was independent of of Western historical thought, what was then the source of inspiration of the Muslim historiogaphers who contributed so much to the rise and development of the new discipline? Islam and Islamic Ideology! This is the thesis of which the theme will be presented in Chapters IX and X.

Historiography in the West.

We now turn to the West to see how much importance was attached to history and historiography. We have already dealt with the subject in a general way; we will do so again with special reference to its importance. Powicke is perfectly right when he says: "Man is historically minded," He is "a historical, political, creative animal." — "What effects

94. Ibid., p. 174. 95. Ibid., p. 6.
96. Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. i, p. 339.

man most is man, what interests man most is human affairs." — "An interest in history is one of nature's gifts, capable of infinite growth. If it begins in joy, it will not end in tears but in sweat."[97] As a storehouse of knowledge, it is full of *examples*, *experiences* and *education*. It is an unfailing *companion*, *counsel* and *coach*. It is an asset for everyone. It is *a conserving power* and can work wonders.[98] We will bring out its importance with reference to its aim and object, purpose and function as well as in relation to its principal classes.

Aim and Object.

History aims at digging out the truth buried in the past. The past is explored with a view to explaining the present and improving the future. This is but natural and in the fitness of things, because the past, the present and the future are linked together in logical sequence as one running stream. They are taken up and treated as a whole because the past provides a pattern for the present and the present possesses the pattern for the future. The present had its roots in the past in the same way as the future has its roots in the present. In fact the present is so inseparably connected with the past that we cannot understand what is occurring (present) without constant reference to what has occurred (past); that is to say, we study what has occurred (past) chiefly because we want to understand what is occurring (present) and as the future has its roots in the present and the past, we study both in order to influence and improve the present and the future. The role of history is summed up in one sentence:

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97. Powicke: **Modern Historians and the Study of History**, pp. 227, 231-33.

98. See pp. 28 ff. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History**; Gustavson: **A Preface to History**, Chapter No. 13—**The Use and Misuse of History.**

"We look back in order to look forward."[99] Without this, history would have been fruitless. History is a tree which spreads over the *whole* in time and space. This is the Faustian Picture of Human History.[100]

Purpose and Function.

While the principal purpose of history is to discover and state facts, peoples and persons have pursued it with purposes of their own: "Some will copy the ancients, some will seek instructions for the future, some will attack or defend, some will only wish to record facts." Some have assigned to it "the task of judging the past, of instructing the present for the benefit of the ages to come."[101] According to Cato "the purpose of history was didactic, that it should inculcate patriotism, teach morals, and shape the character of the young." His *Origin* the loss of which is counted as "a literary calamity," we are told, "abounded in moral reflections, wise saws and modern instances." Livy held the same views on history. Tacitus believed that "History's function is to commend the just and to hold up the evil to the reprobation of posterity." Quinet maintained that "History is, from beginning to end, the drama of liberty, the protest of the human race against the world which enchains it, the triumph of the infinite over the finite, the freedom of the spirit, the reign of the soul."[102] According to Flint, M. Renouvier "has shown far more profoundly and conclusively than anyone else the closeness of the connection

99. Burns: **Political Ideals**, pp. 11-12

100. See page 129. See also Spengler: **The Decline of the West**, Vol. i, p. 105.

101. Gooch: **History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century**, pp. 74-76.

102. Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing**, Vol. i, pp. 65. 76, 79, ff.

between history and morality, that neither is intelligible or realizable without the other; that history is an ethical formation and morality an historical production."[103] In his *Outlines of Philosophy* Vinet has laid stress on the idea of freedom expressing itself in the development of religion, truth and goodness. "History in its highest signification is but the manifestation of the idea of progress, whether we refer that progress to the nature of things and the course of time, or whether we seek it in what Bossuet calls *the development of religion*, or, lastly, whether we view it as a result of these two causes combined. In all these cases, progress can only be the advance of the intelligent world towards *truth*, which exclusively and infallibly contains *goodness*. If the laws of progress do not exist, there is no meaning in history, nor in the world either, and each alike is only fit to be thrown aside as mere rubbish."[104] According to these views, which resemble those of Hegel,[105] history is a dynamic force without which there can be no progress in any field, including religion, morality, truth, goodness, freedom, liberty, etc. The principal purpose of history is to present a perfect picture of the past—a faithful photograph in which everything is at its own place and nothing is out of focus.

Hold of History.

The hold which history had on human mind in the West (as well as in the East) is by itself eloquent testimony to the importance attached to it; the advantages accruing from its study attracted a large number of votaries and produced a host of historians, whose exposition of the subject not only established

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103. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 537, 671, 698.

104. **Ibid.** 'Michelet sees the whole of history as a single, permanent progress towards freedom.' Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, p. 287.

105. See pages 70, ff.

but also enhanced its importance in every sphere of life. Despite doubling the size of this Chapter, however, we could not go beyond selection and summary of the material available.

Herodotus: Histories.

We begin again with our hero, Herodotus, hailed in the West as 'the Father of History.' This prose-writer was without predecessors. The *historia* (history) he introduced was something quite new. "He was the first Greek, the first European to use prose as the medium of a work of art. His mastery of the new medium is one measure of his genius."[106] His devotion to history, which speaks volumes for its importance, is another.

Polybius: Historian's Qualifications.

One of the most shining stars in the West was Polybius, who 'predicated three things which are requisite for the historian: (1) geographical knowledge, (2) a knowledge of practical politics, including the art of war, and (3) the ability to collect, classify and digest the written sources of history.[107] "His views on historical criticism expressed in connection with the writings of Fabius Pictor are as important for a student of history as they are illuminating for an ordinary reader:

> I wished to warn those who take up his books (he says) not to be misled by the authority of his name, but to be guided by facts. For there is a certain class of readers in whose eyes the personality of the writer is of more account than what he says. They look to the fact that Fabius was a contemporary and a member of the Senate, and assume without more ado that everything he says may be trusted.[108]

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106. Herodotus: **The Histories**, p. 1.

107. Thompson: **History of Historical Writing**, Vol. i, p. 49.

108. **Ibid., p. 58.**

Sallust: Specialization.

The process of specialization of subject, which tended to do away with broad, general treatment, and effective literary expression reached their climax in Sallust (86-34 B.C.), the first remarkable Roman writer of history. Memoirs also made their appearance about that time, the earliest of importance being those of Asellio.[109]

Asellio: Causation.

Asellio (b. 160 B. C.) was not satisfied with the mere narration of facts. He tried to trace the causes and consequences of events. 'It is not sufficient', he said, 'to state what happened. One wants to know *how* and *why* things occur as they do.' With him also the purpose of history was didactic—'to inculcate morals and to teach patriotism.'[110]

Livy: Lesson of History:

Livy (d. 59 B. C.) was immensely influenced by the remarkable richness and romanticism of Rome. In the preface to his *Roman History* he has discussed 'life and morals', traced the causes of the rise and fall of empires and stated:

> What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument: from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and what is shameful in the result.[111]

Diodorus: Universal History.

The increasing importance of history found adequate expression in the concept qualified by the word *universal*. The extensive conquests of Alexander the Great and the establishment of the far-flung Empire or, at any rate, the idea underlying it, contri-

109. Ibid., p. 66. 110. Ibid. 111. Ibid., p. 76, note.

buted to the concept of universal history, which became 'an established form of historiography in the first century B. C.' In the Preface to his *Bibliotheca*, a universal history of huge dimensions, Diodorus of Sicily (ca. 90-20 B.C.) summed up the idea by stating that the writers of universal histories aspired "to marshal all men, who united by their kinship, are yet separated by space and time, into one and the same orderly body' very much like the natural phenomena, constituting what is called universe.[112]

Tacitus: Historical Criticism:

Tacitus, (55-120) whom we have already quoted, was a distinguished writer. He freely criticized and condemned the systematic suppression of historical writing under the Roman rulers and ridiculed the repressive measures resorted to to that effect. As to his own integrity, scholarly opinion is that he 'must be read with infinite caution' on account of his 'admitted prejudice against the principate,' for to moralize is one thing and to act up to the morals quite another. He has handed down to posterity some significant aphorisms. For instance:

> The more corrupt the state, the more numerous the laws.
>
> All nations and cities are ruled by the people, the nobility or by one man. A constitution formed by selection out of those elements is easy to commend, but not to produce; or if it be produced, it cannot be lasting.
>
> Of all things human, the most precarious and transitory is a reputation for power which has no strength to support it.
>
> Everything which we now hold to be of the highest antiquity was once new.
>
> History's function is to commend the just, and to hold up the evil to the reprobation of posterity.
>
> Tyrants merely procure infamy for themselves and glory for their victims.
>
> We extol the past and are indifferent to our own times.[113]

112. Ibid. pp. 103-04.

113. Ibid., pp. 87-88.

Dio: Verification of Facts.

Owing to the suppression of authentic evidence, to which a short reference has been made, historians had to depend upon 'semi-historical' and even 'pseudo-historical' sources for eking out information. Tackling the problems presented by the verification of facts which were 'kept secret and concealed', Dio Cassius (d. 235) recorded the following remarks:

> .....they are distrusted just because they cannot be verified; for it is suspected that everything is said and done with reference to the wishes of the men in power at the time and of their associates. As a result, much that never occurs is noised abroad, and much that happens beyond a doubt is unknown, and in the case of nearly every event a version gains currency that it is different from the way it really happened. Furthermore the very magnitude of the empire and the multitude of things that occur render accuracy in regard to them most difficult.[114]

Christian Universal History.

"The earliest constructive effort of ecclesiastical historiography" is stated to be the construction of 'a universal history of mankind. For it, is believed that "Christianity, in the teaching of the fathers, had been predestined from the foundation of the world and was to become the universal religion," the religion, of all mankind."[115] Creighton has given a glowing account of the interest in history of Pope Pius II in *A History of the Papacy*, from which we quote the following extracts embodying some of the fundamental principles of historical criticism :

> The study of history was to him the source of instruction... He looked upon events with reference to their results in the future" and his actions were regulated by a strong sense of historical proportion..... The present was to him always the product of the past, and he shaped his motive by reference to historical antecedents. He never mentions anything without fully investigating its causes, he never sees a town which he does not describe

114. Ibid., pp. 114-17. 115. Ibid., p. 126.

with reference to its past. Pius is the first writer who attempted to represent the present as it would look to posterity, who consciously applied a scientific conception of history to the explanation and arrangement of passing events.[116]

Biondo: Facts.

Among the historians of Italian Renaissance Flavio Biondo (1388-1468) holds a high place. "He was the first historian to extract the history of the Middle Ages from the mediaeval chronicles and consider it an epoch in itself." His was a voice in wilderness, but its echo still resounds in the realm of real research:

> One of the chief tasks lying before the growing science of historical criticism was to clear away those legends of fabulous antiquity with which each nation had invested the story of its origin.........So firmly such fables possess the general mind, and so intimately did they seem connected with the national glory, that great credit belongs to the historians who first ventured to attack them."[117]

Machiavelli: The Prince.

Another hitsorian who, according to Professor Thompson, "visulized, understood and interpreted this confused and perplexing time was Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), the greatest of all Italian historians." *The Prince*, it is postulated, was inspired byPolybius and the work,which later became a manual for princes,"was not written with that intent.' It was written, we are assured, "to give an accurate picture of government, politics, and diplomacy in the Italy of 1500"--"then a political laboratory for experimentation in government." We are also assured that "Machiavelli was not the inventor of the ideas which he expressed in *The Prince*, nor necessarily the advocate

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116. Crieghton: A History of the Papacy quoted, Ibid., p. 486.

117. Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. i, p. 491-92.

of them." He is credited with reducing "to definition and systematization the current but unorganized political philosophy of the age." He is said to have stated "with a lucidity that seemed indecent the principles upon which men were often already acting in his day and have consistently acted ever since." It is evident that as "a conserving power" history has preserved in the *Prince*, etc., principles and practices violently in clash with accepted standards of ethics and provided guidance for their protagonists, e. g. "The world must be governed by force or fraud."[118] No more evidence is needed to clarify the issue. This is how ideas and acts, individuals and institutions have been judged by different standards and this is how *importance* of history varies with varying concepts and conditions.

Commines: Politics.

Machiavelli soon found his counterpart in Commines (1445-1509) in France. Intending to present to the princes the profits from the lessons of history, the latter observed.

> It is a great advantage to princes to have read histories in their youth, in which may be seen in plenty the meetings, the great frauds, cheats and perjuries, which some of the ancients committed towards each other......taking and killing those who had put trust in their assurances. I do not say that all did so......
>
> I cannot help blaming ignorant princes. Almost all lords are surrounded by clerks and men of the long robe (judges) as is natural, and they are useful if they are good and very dangerous if they are bad......Do not think that God has established the office of king or prince to be exercised by fools......[119]

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118. Ibid., pp. 425-97; Nordau: The Interpretation of History, p. 255. Machiavelli quoted.

119. Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. i, p. 513.

Montaigne: Experience.

Montaigne (1533-82) insisted on the writing of history by men who have had practical experience. In his *Essays* he writes:

> The only good Histories are those that have been writ by the Persons themselves who commanded in the Affairs whereof they write, or who have participated in the Conduct of them, or, at least, who have had the Conduct of others of the same Nature......What can a Man expect from a Physician, who will undertake to write of War; or from a mere Scholar, treating upon the Designs of Princes.[120]

Hugo and Eichhorn: "Model and Method."

Hugo (1588-1629) held that "history must be studied not to illustrate but to discover principles: natural law must give place to historical law." His illustrious pupil, Eichhorn, pursued the path pointed out by him and passed on to posterity 'a method and a model' to follow.[121]

Descartes: Cartesianism.

Rene Descartes (d. 1650) himself hated history, but his methods of deductive reasoning (Cartesianism), which aimed at mathematical precision and metaphysical demonstration and which emphasized the difference between *thought* and *extension* (*mind* and *matter*) were applied by his admirers to historical phenomena in the same way as to the physical phenomena but with varying results. The Cartesian philosophy, as it is called, was founded on quantitative values which are invariably fixed. It had "no perception of organic nature of human society" and no knowledge of the "organic nature of historical development" which is "a genetic process of change

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120. Ibid., p. 554.

121. Gooch: History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, pp. 40, 43.

and transformation and never a succession of fixed patterns.[122]

Leibniz: Evolution.

Leibniz (1646-1716) who is credited with the theory of evolution, is also said to have laid the foundation of the rational interpretation of history. Gooch has expressed this idea in his own words and called it the *law of continuity*:

> No rational interpretation of history was possible till the doctrine of evolution was enunciated by Leibniz. Nothing happened all at once, we read in 'Nouveaux Essais' and nature never makes jumps.[123]

Montesquieu: Causation.

"The greatest exponent of Cartesian interpretation of history was Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755)," whose *Esprit des lois* exercised immense influence on contemporary historical thought. A lawyer by profession, he was deeply interested in legal institutions. Taking general laws for granted, he made 'a series of brilliant generalizations and acute analyses.' Among so many things that mould men's character, he included 'climate, religion, laws, maxims of government, the examples of the past, customs, manners......" According to him the 'fruit of all empires' was 'climate' covering the fertility of the land. As soil and climate mould men's character, he said, so does law contribute to the formation of a nation.[124]

Voltaire: History of Humanity.

Voltaire (1694-1778) was a prolific writer, having a number of books to his credit, including the *Siecle de Louis XIV*, which took him twenty years to com-

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122. Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing**, Vol. ii, pp. 58, ff. 123. Gooch: **History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century**, pp. 8-9. 124. Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing**, Vol. ii, pp. 61, ff.

plete. He made 'two remarkable contributions' to the cause of historiography: (1) He viewed history as a whole, taking together all events at important cultural centres in relation to human life. (2) He regarded history as a record of human activity, embracing arts and amusements, customs and manners, science and technology, learning, food and daily life. From modern historians he demanded "more details, better ascertained facts, precise dates, more attention to customs, laws, mores, commerce, finance, agriculture, population,' and said: "It is with history as it is with mathematics and physics..........The art of writing history well is very rare. It requires a grave, pure, varied, agreeable style. There are laws for writing history as there are for all other arts of the spirits; many precepts, and few great artists."[125]

Kant: Historical Criticism.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) regarded history as "a continuous process in time." He summed up the philosophy of history in three words "Who? What? Why?" in relation to the phenomena. He answered the first question (Who observes the phenomena?) in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, which deals with matter and form, experience and sense perception, leading to the conclusion that "we do not know the absolute truth, but we have demonstrable truths verified by experience." He answered the second question (What is the essence of the phenomena?) in the *Critique of Practical Reason*, wherein he formulated the "doctrine of freedom and moral orders of the universe." In the first the *intellect* is confined to the realm of senses and in the second the *human will* rises above the limitations of intellect and joins the eternal. He expressed his inability to answer the third question (Why do we see what we see?) and merely stated:

125. Ibid., pp. 66-67.

"We may reasonably say that the Kingdom of God is come on earth as soon as ever the principle has taken root generally, and in the public mind, that the creeds of the churches have gradually to pass into the universal religion of reason......"[126]

Niebuhr: Influence of Islam.

Niebuhr (1776-1831) is recognized as "the first commanding figure in modern historiography: "Among the influences which combined to mould his mind and character the earliest and the deepest was that of his father," believed to be "one of the most remarkable men of his time," who "used to tell his son stories of the East," chiefly about "Muhammad and the early Caliphs, the spread of Islam and the rise of the Turks."[127]

Immortalizing Force.

Niebuhr, who has been hailed as model by the greatest historians of succeeding generations, acknowledged the importance of history in words which have become *memorable* and a source of inspiration for modern historians. "If my name is to live," he wrote, "it will be as an historian and publicist, as a classicist and philologist." Among his contributions to the cause of history, 'the investigation of regal and republican Rome' and 'the critical examination of the sources and credibility of early Roman history' stand out most conspicuous. [128]

Sismondi: Facts.

The simple remark of the Swiss historian, Sismondi (1773-1843), is rightly regarded as sufficient to illustrate the importance of history founded on facts: "I know," he said, "I lack some qualities of an

126. Ibid., pp. 107, ff. 127. Gooch: History and Historians of the 19th Century, p. 15. 128. Ibid, p. 18.

historian which others possess, but I can render one testimony to myself, and I am confident posterity will confirm it—I have always sought the truth and spared no labour to find it."[129]

Ranke: Value of History.

Ranke (1795—1886) was a renowned thinker and critic. He was profoundly interested in the philosophy of history. His views on the value and virtues of this discipline, in the words of Gooch, are as follow :

> History, he declared, was not such a chaos as it appeared at first. There were creative forces, moral energies at work which gave it value and meaning. States were intellectual entities, creations of the human spirit, thought of God. No people could live for itself and the character of each one developed in contact with the whole. The core of his message was the duty of States to safeguard their individuality by developing along the lines of their historic growth.[130]

Ranke's contribution to the cause of history, according to the same scholar, was threefold: (1) to separate the study of the past, as far as possible, from the passions of the present and to state as things actually were; (2) to establish the necessity of basing historical facts on strictly contemporary sources, and (3) to found "the science of evidence by the analysis of the authorities, contemporary or otherwise, in the light of the author's temperament, affiliations and opportunity of knowledge and by comparison with the testimony of other writers."[131] Apropos of the science of evidence and the foundations of history in future, Ranke's remarks are remarkable. He said:

> I see time coming when we shall build modern history no longer on the accounts even of contemporary historians, except where they possessed original knowledge, much less on derivative writers, but on the relations of eye-witnesses and the original documents.[132]

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129. Ibid., pp. 161-62. 130. Ibid., p. 80. 131. Ibid. pp. 96-97.
132. Ibid. pp. 83-84.

Fustel: Objective Science.

According to Dr. Gooch, Fustel de Coulanges (1830—89) regarded history as 'an objective science, the secrets of which could be extracted by the same methods as in the physical sciences." The collection, collation and interpretation of the original sources must, he believed, lead to conclusions on which there could be no controversy. "Do not applaud me," he assured an enthusiastic audience, "it is not I that I speak to you but history that speaks by my mouth. He considered the conclusions he arrived at as independent of himself and felt criticism as something like blasphemy."[133]

Luden & Bohmer: National History.

Luden (1780-1847), who was fascinated with the study of history, said that "anyone who feels a taste for history should study above all the history of his own fatherland." Bohmer (1795—1863), who was gifted with 'an inspiring personality,' expressed a similar sentiment when he said that he was driven to history not by 'curiosity, ambition or dilettantism," but by 'love of the Fatherland, the conviction that the knowledge of the past could be instructive for the present, the hope that the true might lead to the good.'[134]

Guizot: Vision.

Guizot (1787—1874) was gifted with a wide vision. Dr. Gooch assures us: "His eyes are on the distant horizon and the collective achievement. His philosophy of history is an unshakable belief in Pro-

133. Ibid. p. 202.

134. Gooch: History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, pp. 63-68: Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. ii, pp. 140-41, 202-03, 543.

vidence." The movement towards documentary history received a great impetus under him.[135]

Motley: Analysis of Men.

According to an American historian, Motley, (1814-77) the historian's greatest art lies in his 'ability to analyse men.' His 'canvas', he said, was 'very broad' and he had 'no central heroic figure to give flesh and blood to the scenes.'' He was deeply and truly interested in archives as is evident from the following passage:

> Here I remain among my fellow-worms, feeding on these musty mulberry leaves, out of which we are afterwards to spin our silk. It is something to read the real sign-manuals of such fellows as William of Orange, etc.[136]

Taine: Civilization.

According to Taine (1826—1893), three factors or forces—race, milieu and moment—, combine to produce civilization and condition its transformation —rise and fall. History, he said, is a mechanical problem. The only difference, he added, is that it cannot be measured by the same means or defined so exactly, and that it is a science, he concluded, analogous to psychology and zoology and not geometry.[137]

Croce: History & Chronicle.

Discussing the difference between *History* and *Chronicle* and *Document* and *Narrative* as that bet-

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135. Gooch: History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, p. 180: Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. ii, pp. 227-29.

136. Gooch: History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, pp. 389-90: Thompson: A History of Historical Writing. Vol. ii, p. 333, 598.

137. Gooch: History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, p. 226: Thompson: A History of Historical Writing, Vol. ii, pp. 199-200, 447-52.

ween *Soul* and *Sepulchre*, Benedetto Croce (1866—?) beautifully brought out the importance of both in the following words:—

> The human spirit preserves the mortal remains of history, empty narratives and chronicles, and the same spirit collects the traces of past life, remains and documents, striving as far as possible to preserve them unchanged and to restore them as they deteriorate. What is the object of these acts of will which go to the preservation of what is empty and dead? Perhaps illusion or foolishness, which preserves a little while the worn-out elements of mortality on the confines of Dis by means of the erection of mausoleums and sepulchres? But sepulchres are not foolishness and illusion; they are, on the contrary, an act of morality, by which is affirmed the immortality of the work done by individuals. Although dead, they live in our memory and will live in the memory of times to come. And that collecting of dead documents and writing down of empty histories is an act of life which serves life. The moment will come when they will serve to reproduce past history, enriched and made present to our spirit.
>
> For dead history revives, and past history again becomes present, as the development of life demands them. The Romans and the Greeks lay in their sepulchres, until awakened at the Renaissance by the new maturity of the European spirit. The primitive form of civilization, so gross and so barbaric, lay forgotten or but little regarded, or misunderstood, until that new phase of the European spirit, which was known as Romanticism or Restoration, 'sympathized' with them—that is to say, recognized them as its own proper present interest. Thus great tracts of history which are now chronicles for us, many documents now mute, will in their turn be traversed with new flashes of life and will speak again.[138]

Is this not a suitable commentary on the oft-quoted sententious statement of Thucydides?—"The whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men."[139] Are not anthropologists, archaeologists, philologists,

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138. Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography**, pp. 24-25.

139. Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing**, Vol. i, p. 33.

etc. engaged in the restoration of this great sepulchre—History—and the rehabilitation of its fragments?

Acton: Conscience.

Acton (1834—1902) was an active exponent of didactic history, who believed on the basis of his experience that "Ultimate history we cannot have in this generation, but we can dispose of conventional history." Dr. Gooch has summed up his views on the virtues of history in the following few words:

> He believed that historical study was not merely the basis of insight into the present, but a school of virtue and a guide to life. 'The great achievement of history is to develope and perfect and arm conscience.' It was above all a spiritual process, a record of the formation and operation of ideas and ideals.

The historian, in his view, was not only the interpreter of events and ideologies but the guardian of morality. "The inflexible integrity of the moral code," he declared, "is to me the secret of the authority, the dignity and the utility of history."[140]

Wilson: Written Word.

It was President Wilson (1856—1924) who once said something to the effect that sword had decided the fates of nations in ancient times, but peacemakers must remember that the written word would remain when the sword had rusted away.[141]

Bryce: Light.

Lord Bryce, who held that human nature formed the thesis and man's thoughts, words and deeds the theme of history, further observed:

140. Gooch: **History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century**, pp. 364-66: Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing**, Vol. ii, pp. 230-32.

141. Hall: **British Archives**, p. 59; Jaffar: **Archives—Meaning, Scope and Importance**, p. 14.

It is the lamp by whose light we see human nature in action, and we can understand the causes, the significance, the results of events in proportion to our comprehension of the characters of the men or the nations concerned.[142]

Hall: Records.

Dr. Hubert Hall rightly stressed the importance of written words or records when he said :—

A Government that cannot produce the authentic records of a nation's acts may find itself in the same plight as one that cannot redeem its paper currency with gold. In both cases the safety of the State depends on the conservation of national treasure; in neither case can the want be supplied by a mere 'gesture'.[143]

Hyde: Uses of History.

Professor H. Montgomery Hyde, an eminent English historian who has worked in various capacities, has recounted the advantages of the study of history in the light of his own experience and shown how it has proved an asset also to the followers of professions other than history:

"Regarded from the strictly utilitarian point of view, the study of history affords an excellent training for a variety of callings, since what has been described as the historical approach enables buman beings to understand, perhaps better than any other discipline, the public events, affairs and the trends of their times. In the several branches of the public administration, particularly the foreign service and the intelligence departments of the police and the armed forces, where the collection, co-ordination and evaluation of information is of the greatest importance, the advantages of historical training are obvious. Similarly, in the particular fields of lawyers, journalists, broadcasters, teachers, librarians, curators of museums and social workers generally, the systematic study of history is invaluable. I would also include politicians among those who can benefit immeasurably in this way.[144]

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142. Bryce quoted by Hyde: Historical Method and Interpretation, pp. 10-11. 143. Hall: British Archives, p. 51.

144. Hyde: Historical Method and Interpretation, pp. 1-2. Also see Perry: Realms of Value, pp. 401-10.

Importance of Narrative.

The importance of history as a narrative and a statement of facts cannot be exaggerated. It is at the root of all arts and sciences, so much so that no one would have known anything about the world's greatest kings and commanders, saints and savants, scientists and scholars, poets and philosophers, mathematicians and astronomers, etc. and of their achievements if there had been no history. All of them, therefore, owe their existence and development to it and all of them draw upon this fountain source. It is hardly necessary to add that without it, notwithstanding its imperfection, there could be no progress, for we cannot accurately assess the present without comparing it with the past and likewise we cannot build a better future without constant reference to the present and the past. It is a yardstick with which we can measure progress as well as retrogression.[145]

—Court Chronicles.

The importance of date-and-fact history is that whereas with reference to dates it shows that history never repeats itself, it opens our eyes to the *general law of recurrence* underlying all events and occurrences and shows that history does repeat itself in a sense. For instance, battles have been fought *repeatedly*, though *not* at the same time, between the same parties and on the same fields and events of the same kind have occurred time and again though at *different times*. Moreover, the study of events, good and bad, even though *exceptional*, is informative and instructive in that their psycho-analysis enables us to guard against numerous pitfalls and to steer clear through

145. Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography**, pp. 24-25; Bloch: **The Historian's Craft**, pp. 8, ff.: **Realms of Value**, pp. 402-05; Barni: **Tarikh-i-Firozshahi**, pp. 12-13.

our difficulties. The causes of battles faught, victories won, defeats suffered as well as other exceptional events such as divorces, murders, suicides, etc., if sought and found, can be of immense practical use for the guidance of the general, the legislator,[2] and the statesman.[146]

—Biography.

Except in exceptional cases, the life and work of a great man do express the *inner force* of development in all that occured in his lifetime: Influenced by the milieu around him, he is regarded as the product of his own age, the voice of his times and hence a true representative of the people then living; and therefore it is through him that we can have an idea of his own character and the character of his times.[147] His life and work (call it History of Heroes or Biography) have on the minds of the people an effect which cannot be ignored. In his lifetime his very existence is a great source of strength and an asset to his contemporaries and after his death his memory is a great source of inspiration for the coming generations.[148]

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146. Burns: **Political Ideals**, p. 14; Toynbee: **Greek Historical Thought**, pp. 147, 180; Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 16,44; Perry: **Realms of Value**, pp. 12-13.

147. Not always! For it has happened, of course rarely, that a great man was a great reactionary, whose life and work presented a complete contrast to those of the people living around him. In either case he was what he was because of (i) his own mental make-up, breeding and education; (2) the people amongst whom he lived and (3) the physical environments that surrounded him.

148. Towering personalities like Imam Husain, who lived and died for the cause of truth, belong to the whole world and can rightly be claimed by all as their own regardless of race or religion, caste or colour, nationality or any other consideration. See Carlyle: **Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History; Flint: Philosophy of History**, pp. 474, ff. ; Fuller: **History of Philosophy**, Vol. ii, p. 324.

—Commonplace.

The real history of the past, if it is to be an explanation of the present and guide to the future, must tell far more about the commonplace than about the exceptional events of the past because, generally speaking, the commonplace events of today are what they are because of the commonplace events of yesterday. Ethics and environments apart, it is by the commonplace events of a time that men are most influenced and the general rather than the exceptional atmosphere of the ages gone by provides detailed information about the life and thought of the people then living and a good guide to the understanding of the events that are likely to repeat themselves over and again at present as well as in future.[149]

—Culture and Ideology.

The Culture or mental attitude of man has made momentous strides. The ideals of the past have been partly attained and partly not and some more have come into existence and it is for the future to decide how far they are capable of practical achievement, and how far they are conducive to human happiness. Much of course depends upon the intrinsic worth of the ideals and much on the endeavours to approach or attain them, but the fact cannot escape recognition that the efforts to approach them have changed the past into a better present and if they are continued they will certainly change the present into a better future.[150]

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149. Burns: Political Ideals, pp. 14-15; Flint: Philosophy of History, p. 8; Ibn Khaldun and Al-Maqrizi quoted in Rosenthal's History of Muslim Historiography, p. 14.

150. Spengler: The Decline of the West, Vol. i, Introduction; Toynbee: A Study of History.

—Civilization.

One of the latest developments in history is the increasing importance, being attached to the study of civilization. Spengler and Toynbee, in particular, have approached world-history through civilization and made mighty contributions. Since civilization is the outer expression of the culture or inner-soul it represents and culture is the kernel of human history, no historian can do without it. It goes without saying that with the help of the civilization which we have inherited, we can assess the true worth of present institutions and judge the value of improvements they have undergone at various stages, and with the help of experience we are now gathering, we can improve upon them and make our own contribution. It is with the aid of history alone that we can pick up the threads of progressive institutions in all fields of knowledge and weave fine fabrics. The past affords a suitable foundation on which the structure of the present as well as of the future can be constructed. While choosing all that is good in them and discarding the rest, we can proceed apace with the work of reconstruction in all departments of human life—form of government, administration, education, law, justice, etc. Again, as it is also through its arts that a people is known, the history of fine arts is no less important. We can study the life and work of the people of the past through the arts they pursued and practised in that they throw a flood of light on their tastes and temperaments, habits and hobbies, mode of living and articles of dress, religious beliefs and moral precepts, etc. A study of their arts and artistic productions is indeed a most useful source of information about their work and character. No historian can afford to neglect or ignore this aspect of human life.[151]

151. Spengler. The Decline of the West, Vol. i, pp. 1, ff. Cf. Burns: Political Ideals, pp. 17-18, 24-25; Gustavson: A Preface to History, pp. 152, ff.

—Philosophy.

History assumes the role of philosophy when it attempts or undertakes to answer and explain the *How* and *Why* of events and occurrences, eliminates the element of *chance* and rests on the foundations of causality, explains the past and the present and paves the way for the improvement of of the future. But for it, we could not explain the past, understand the present and improve the future. As 'the philosophy of the nature of the Real', as 'the self-revelation of the nature of the Absolute to itself' and as 'the vision of truth,' History has an importance of its own. As an approach or an aid to the understanding of the Absolute, it is identical with Religion. Just as the Absolute enacts the world process by uniting knowledge with activity and reflects on it as a whole, similarly world-history consists of human deeds guided by the knowledge of those performing them and their evaluation. In this sense the world-historian, who enacts his subject from time to time and surveys the situation as a whole, it is stated, follows the Absolute.[152]

—Ancillary Science.

The importance of History as an ancillary science lies in the fact that it secures precision in drawing conclusions by collecting and co-ordinating the knowledge of the past, by sifting and systematizing evidence and by evaluating facts in the lime light of the laws evolved by itself. It has introduced accuracy into what would have been vague, vain and even waste without it.[153]

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152. Perry: **Realms of Value**, pp. 389-92; Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 42, ff.

153. Spengler: **The Decline of the West**, Vol. i, pp. 153-54. Perry: **Realms of Value**, pp. 385, ff. Ibn Khaldun quoted by Issawi in An Arab Philosophy of History. See Also Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 157, ff.

Art: Imagination: Vision.

In its ultimate analysis and at the highest stage history is an art which, with the aid of imaginative ability, vision and knowledge of human nature, explains and accounts for the moods of men and the whims of women, which neither science nor philosophy can analyze, control or regulate. It is in this capacity that History can contribute incalculably to the cause of humanity.[154]

Last Lesson.

Referring to 'the anticipation of universal change and complete reformation of social habits, opinions, institutions, etc.', a scholar summed up the importance of history in these words:

> "An instructive lesson is all that remains of these brilliant expectations. We learn the folly of wrestling with a power which we have not estimated, and of opposing to opinions and habits hardened by the growth of centuries, even the soundest conclusions of our philosophy, when unaided by the experience of history."[155]

Yes! We have learnt the folly of fighting with a formidable foe without the help of history. But we have yet to learn the wisdom of winning victories in peace and war with the wealth of historical experience. The importance of history cannot be over-estimated. Without it the world would have been dull if not altogether dead. At any rate, humanity would have lagged far behind the stage it has reached along the scale of civilization if there had been no history and man must have made more magnificent strides if history had not been abused by interested people.[156]

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154. Runciman's: **Lecture on History; History** in the **English Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.**

155. **History** in the **Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.**

156. Gustavson: **A Preface to History**, pp. 166, ff.; Perry: Realms of Value, pp. 409-10; Barni: **Tarikh-i-Firozshahi**, pp. 9-14; Robinson: **History of Western Europe**, Vol. i, pp. 1, ff.

Retrospect.

The afore-cited evidence, which could be augmented a great deal but for want of space, is enough to convince anyone of the importance attached to history in the East as well as in the West. One is struck with the similarity between the two streams of thought flowing independently at a distance and yet having much in common, and one wants to know what it was due to. It is yet premature to say how much, if at all, the one influenced the other and in what respects. One thing can be stated with certainty —that they flowed from the mind of *man* who has always remained the same at bottom. The present chapter, read with preceding chapters, confirms the conclusion already drawn by experts that in the earlier times the East was ahead of the West, that in the later times, particularly during the last two centuries, the West out-distanced the East, and that during the period in between the Muslim World was far ahead of the contemporary world. We will take up this theme at the end after dealing with Islamic Contribution to Historical Thought. We close this account with a note of Nordau:

> But is there one out of all the ideals to which the noblest and ablest of men have aspired which can stand the cold examination of knowledge? Only one—the ideal of goodness and selfless love. To add no inevitable touch of cruelty to the inexorable evils with which nature scourges man, but, within the limits of their strength, to lessen the sum of human suffering—this is the ideal towards which the most perfect men our species has known to have aspired, which they have tried to realize, which they have felt to be noble and high enough to inspire and recompense them. It is an ideal that is still far from being realized. It may suffice us for a long time to come. It can yet make life worth living to many, and those the best among us.[157]

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157. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 370-71.

Chapter VII

MODERN CONCEPTS OF HISTORY

Introductory.

Having traced the History of History, as far as possible, we are now in a position to present the principles and precepts based on the evidence so far adduced. It is necessary to know this in order to appreciate the contributions made by the Modern schools of thought to the development of historical sense in the world. Almost all important theories and thoughts on history—old and new—are viewed and reviewed in this Chapter so as to show where they stand on the path of progress. The word '*Modern*' is used in its wide sense and made to include such old ideas and ideals as have retained their hold on modern mind. The purpose of history is stated in a nut-shell and the worth of human institutions—past and present—is judged by this standard in the light of human experience. Islamic Contribution to History is treated separately for the reasons already stated.[1]

World-Process.

History is all that has happened. It is world-process which 'goes on, whether recorded or no; whether its recollection by man is artificially preserved or allowed to fall into natural oblivion.' It includes the past of all persons, 'which lies outside the range of their immediate sense-perception and appreciation.' The mere omission of a fact or a phase thereof from recorded history does not deprive it of that inherent quality and so diminish its importance. It is history even if it is not preserved some how or the other. It

1. See pp. 5, ff.

is in this sense that Max Nordau has stated: 'History is not identical with written history, and is only to a limited extent included within it" and "History has its own existence, different, apart from, and transcending written history."[2]

Recorded History.

In a restricted sense "History is that portion of the world's story which is established by tradition and recorded in written history." As such, it consists of 'experiences preserved by writing or other arts.' Memory and oral transmission gradually gave way to written words and 'it is in records and not in the consciousness of man, that the historical part is preserved.' Who knows how much of real history is hidden and who cares for the heroes who passed away unwept, unhonoured and unsung, except poets like Saadi and Thomas Gray?[3]

Reality Versus Record.

Just as a photograph cannot capture, contain and convey the soul or spirit of the original, similarly 'written history can never canvas the actual event.' Written record only 'awkwardly' tries to trace or imi-

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2. Perry: **Realms of Value**, p. 384; Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 12, 26, 40; Robinson: **History of Western Europe**, pp. 1, ff.

3. "Many a hero now forgotten sleepeth quiet under ground,
And upon the earth no echoes of his glory ever sound."

(Saadi: **Gulistan**. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, p. 1).

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear:
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness in the desert air."

(Thomas Gray: **Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard**, quoted in the **International Library of Famous Literature**, Vol. ix,p. 3941).

tate the actual occurrence. The fact is that 'history is never successful in conceiving events and setting them down exactly as they took place' for the simple reason that 'the events it registers are for ever withdrawn from actual observation, examination and experiment, and nothing can be re-established from the traces and records that are left, or from the testimony of human witnesses except by the assistance of the subjective factor in guessing at conclusions, interpreting and rounding off.'[4] Croce also considered this crucial question and came to the same conclusion: "history by evidence is at bottom an altogether external history, never fundamental, true history, which is contemporary and present.'[5] It goes without saying that the use of such evidence is not free from doubts, difficulties and dangers. But although the safeguards devised and developed and employed as precautions do not, invariably, prevent fraud and foul-play ('in the same way that the tribunals established for the purpose of condemning the guilty often send away the guilty unpunished'), yet, it is asserted, 'the use of documents and evidence works out on the whole in accordance with the truth' and it is held to be 'useful and worthy of support and encouragement because the injuries that it is liable to cause are greatly inferior to those that it prevents."[6] We cannot do without oral and documentary evidence. Our legal system, founded on it, will fall without its support. Croce's conclusion on this controversy is worthy of quotation:

"To refuse the assistance and the facilities afforded by attested evidence, owing to the fear that some of it may prove false, or because all of it possesses an external and somewhat

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4. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 11-12; Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography**, pp. 138-39.

5. Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography**, p. 137.

6. **Ibid.**, pp. 137-38.

general and vague character, would be to refuse the authority of the human race, and to commit the sin of Descartes and of Malebranche. This great refusal does not concern or assist the understanding of history. All that does matter and does assist is that authority—including the authority of the human race—should never be allowed to take the place of the thought of humanity, to which, in any case, belongs the first place.'[7]

Contemporary History.

Croce considered all *true history as contemporary history*. By contemporaniety he meant simultaniety. He applied the term *contemporary* to (1) the history recorded simultaneously—'at the same time'—or concurrently with the commission of an act or the occurrence of an event, and laid emphasis on the link between history and act or occurrence; so also to (2) the history of the most recent or living past, ranging from a single second to several years. In order to realize this, he suggested, one should 'forget all infinities and infinite history', which tended to lead to the mad-house if not to the hell, and concentrate exclusively on contemporary history, which constitutes living active history', because 'there is no fact which is not known at the moment of its being done.'[8] According to him, 'facts are forgotten sooner or later and recalled and made contemporaneous by means of the contemporaneous.' He restricts the use of the word *history* to 'the history which one thinks in the act of thinking' or of which one is as conscious as of the actual facts it deals with. Such a history, he says, 'is perfectly identical with the most personal and contemporary of histories.' He also holds that 'history is never constructed from narratives, but always from documents, or from narratives that have been reduced to documents and treated as such.' Separated from their sources or living documents, he adds, all histories are 'empty' and hence without 'truth'. Every history,

7. **Ibid.**, p. 140. 8. **Ibid.**, pp. 51-53.

he holds, becomes chronicle or dead history 'when it is no longer *thought*, but only *recorded* in abstract words which were once concrete and expressive.'[9] It follows from the discussion that the connection between the documents that are alive and the chronicles that are dead is the same as that between the soul and the sepulchre," life and history or thought and narratives; that when this connection is lost, there is no life, no history; and that when this connection is intact, there is active life and true history, even when the narratives and documents relate to the remote past. Since it is only "an interest in the life of the present that can move one to investigate past facts, contemporary history springs straight from life" and if non-contemporary history also springs from the same source, it is as good as contemporary history. In other words, it is the *living interest in history*, both contemporary and non-contemporary which makes it *true*. It is in this sense that Croce called every true history as contemporary history.[10]

Sense-Perception.

It is often stated that in order to understand and evaluate an event in the original spirit and to realize its *actuality*, one must transport one's self to the times when it took place and feel as the participants therein did. This is said to be equally true of human as well as natural history. Croce's queries on the point and replies thereto will be found interesting and thought-provoking:

> Do you wish to understand the true history of a Ligurian or Sicilian neolothic man? First of all try, if it be possible, to make yourself mentally into a Ligurian or Sicilian neolothic man; and if it be not possible, or you do not care to do this, content yourself with describing and classifying and arranging in a series the skulls, the utensils, and the inscriptions belonging to those neolothic peoples. Do you wish to understand the history

9. **Ibid**, p. 24.   10. **Ibid.**, pp. 11, ff.

of a blade of grass? First and foremost, try to make yourself into a blade of grass, and if you do not succeed, content yourself with analyzing the parts and even with disposing them in a kind of imaginative history. This leads to the idea—as to history being contemporary history and chronicle being past history. We take advantage of the idea and at the same time confirm that truth by solving with its aid the anti-thesis between a history that is 'history' and a 'history of nature,' which although it is history, was supported to obey laws strangely at variance with those of the only history. It solves this anti-thesis by placing the second in the lower rank of pseudo-history.'[11]

How far it is possible to play 'the prophet of the past' or to pass into the past and feel as the actual participants in the events of the past did in different departments of life is a matter of individual experience and must be left to the judgment of the individual inquirers. Whether those who successfully imitate others do actually feel like those whom they imitate is again a question to be answered by them. One thing that can be said straight away is this: No one can have the whole of experience and the world-historian cannot but depend upon the experience of others. What is required is imaginative sympathy and intuitive insight.[12]

Time and Space.

History is based on the theory of *Time* and *Space*. *When* and *Where?* These are the two questions that can be put in respect of an event or occurrence. They cannot be answered without reference to *time* and *space*, the warp and woof of history. Generally, however, all emphasis is laid on the element of *time* without reference to *space*. Marc Bloch has stated: "In a word, a historical phenomenon can never be understood apart from its moment in time."

11. **Ibid.**, 134-35.

12. Spengler: **The Decline of the West**, Vol. i, pp. 95-96, 102, 142; Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 119, ff.; Runciman: **Lecture on History.**

Toynbee says: "Life on earth, as the historian sees it, is a process in time." Hence the narrative of events under dates was known as *Tarikh* in the East and that under years was known as annals in the West. According to Max Nordau, history changes with time and space. Thus the historical works which are greeted with universal admiration and excitement to-day will be declared dull tomorrow and 'what is history to the Indian and the Japanese has never existed for Europeans and Americans, and vice versa.'[13]

Universal Activity.

There is nothing static in the world. Everything is subject to change and, therefore, everything has its history. "The idea of universal activity has in a sense turned physics itself into a branch of history." The same is true about other sciences, specially biology which deals with the theory of evolution and which is distinctly historical in character. Movement and march, retreat and reverse—all imply activity or change and hence history. History is usually taken to mean "the study of a change taking place in time." It is also called "the science of men in time"—movement.[14]

Universal History.

History, as envisaged above, means universal history, which is broadly divided into two parts, viz. (1) History of Nature, consisting of 'History of animal organism, of the earth's structure or geology and the formation of the solar system or cosmogony' and (2)

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13. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 4; Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft,** pp. 27-29; Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** p. 87.

14. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 289; Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft,** p. 23; Shotwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.**

Humanistic History or the History of Humanity. Commenting upon this kind of history, Croce says: 'Enfranchising itself from servitude to extra-mundane caprice and to blind natural necessity; freeing itself from transcendancy and false immanance (which is in its turn transcendancy), *thought* conceives history as the work of man, as the product of human will and intellect, and in this manner enters that form of history which we shall call humanistic.' Humanistic History is subdivided into two parts: (1) Rationalistic, intellectualistic, abstractistic, etc., with the help of which 'man with his thought, prudence, intelligence, reason and will for good, strives to do good' and (2) the form of history which is represented by the resistance offered to man's plans and frustration.[15] As regards the over-all picture, Croce says:

> Universal History really tries to form a picture of all the things that have happened to the human race from its origins upon the earth to the present moment. Indeed, it claims to do this from the origins of things, or the creation to the end of the world, since it would not be otherwise truly universal............... Universal histories resolve themselves into particular histories—that is to say that they are due to a particular interest centred in a particular problem and comprehend only those facts that form part of that interest and afford an answer to that particular problem'.[16]

Unity: Totality.

The whole universe 'which denotes totality and not a part,' is one living organism, representing overall unity—organic unity, human unity (common origin of humanity) and spiritual unity—recognition of one Creator. In order to form a correct idea and to make a perfect picture, the whole must be viewed as a whole, for fragments detached from the full render

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15. Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography,** pp. 94-95.

16. **Ibid,** pp. 56-57. See also Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 383-85.

themselves as well their source deficient and defective.[17]

Unit of Study.

The word *whole* requires a word of explanation: In theory it covers the entire universe when used in the widest sense and in practice it refers to distinct and well-defined fields of knowledge when used in a relative and limited sense. According to Toynbee, "the intelligible unit of historical study is neither a nation-state nor (at the other end of the scale) mankind as a whole but a certain grouping of humanity which we have called a society."[18] The grouping of humanity or the formation of societies with specific features implies division of labour, specialization or simplification of work. But while Toynbee has taken a specific society as a unit of historical study and dealt with a number of subjects under it, it is open to all to choose and determine the nature and scope of units of histoical study according to their own points of view, and in response to their own requirements, they can approach the aim or end in view in their own way, following chronological, geographical, cultural and other forms of classification—division and subdivision of subjects. This is easy as well as intelligible because we all view things from varying angles and weigh them in different scales of intellect. But we must always be on guard against the danger pointed out by Professor Perry in the following paragraph:

The writing of history in terms of cultures, civilizations and societies serves to identify historical object with interactive unities, rather than with segments of time. The danger is that, owing to bias or pre-occupation, the historian may find such uni-

17. **Ibid**; Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i, p. 24; Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft,** pp. 47, 146, ff., 155. **Historians' History of the World,** Vol. i, p. 8.

18. Toynbee: **A Study of History,** pp. 1, ff., 567; **Greek Historical Thought,** pp. 137-39; Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i, p. 26.

ties where they do not exist, or to separate thəm absolutely when they run together, or to consider them as co-exclustve when they overlap.[19]

Periodization.

History is a continuous precess in time, but it has been divided into periods—ancient, mediaeval and modern., etc.—for the sake of convenience. "To think history" says Croce, 'is certainly to divide it into periods, because *thought* is organized dialectic, drama, and as such has its beginning, its middle and its end, and all other ideal pauses that a drama implies and demands.' According to him, 'every periodization has a *relative* value. Professor Littlefield dislikes this 'dangerous practice' on the ground that 'it tends to fix in our minds an illusory notion of disconnectedness in human affairs and to make us exaggerate the importance of particular events. Professor Perry strikes a similar note when says:

> History has been profoundly falsified by the motive of scholastic and text-book convenience. Having divided histories by centuries, scholars and teachers are compelled by their increasing knowledge of the historical facts to expend a considerable amount of time and energy to obliterating these divisions. It is the historian, and not history, who observes the boundaries of the calendar. History itself—what goes on—does not turn sharp corners. It is not divided into acts and scenes, with the curtain going down on the old and rising on the new.[20]

In connection with the above discussion it is necessary to note that there is some sense in applying the term 'pre-historic' to the period of which we have no recorded history and of which we are trying to prepare records, but there can be no justification for the use of the word when history is regarded as a world-process which 'goes on' whether recorded or unrecorded.

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19. Perry: **Realm' of Value,** p. 384.

20. Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography,** pp. 112-13; Littlefield: **New Outline-History of Europe,** (1500—1848) p. 1; Perry: **Realms of Value,** p. 384.

Historic Vision.

While we also know that "life is too short and science is too vast" and the total experience of hamanity is too much for a single soul, there is and ought to be scope for someone to view and take the over-all picture as a unit of study. In other words, the expanding historical horizon calls for the corresponding historical vision. At first sight this appears to be impossible and impracticable for the reason already given, but co-operative effort can accomplish what individual effort cannot. We should not forget and lose sight of our goaí and remember that "the only true history, which can advance only through mutual aid, is *universal* history" and that historical research recognizes neither isolation nor autarchy.[21]

Human Experience.

History is a faithful record of the march of mankind in relation to the rest of the world, the rise and fall of nations, the alternation of prosperity and adversity, etc. "The proper study of Mankind is Man." According to this view, man is the most active agent and his is the most dominant role, 'the greatest show on earth.' Without him history would not have been what it is. Here man means mankind and history the history of humanity as a whole. Max Nordau has expressed the same idea in these words: 'If history is to be anything more than a mere collection of stories and tales, if it is to do anything more than wile away the tedium of the reader like any other imaginative story, it must be a picture of the life of mankind....In one word, history, if it is to

21. Toynbee: **Civilization on Trial,** pp. 154-55; Marc Bloch: **The Historian's Craft,** pp. 22-27; **Civilization: Past and Present,** Vol. i, pp. 2, 16, ff.

teach anything worth knowing, must not be the history of this or that individual, but of humanity.[22]

People & State.

Speaking of the share of people (both men and women) in the set-up of State, Spengler says:

A people is as State, a kindred is as family, "in form"... And both, moreover are symbols of care. The woman is world-history. By conceiving and giving birth she cares for the perpetuation of the blood. The mother with the child at her breast is the grand emblem of cosmic life. Under this aspect, the life of man and woman is "in form" as marriage. The man however, makes history, which is an un-ending battle for the preservation of that other life. Maternal care is supplemented and paralleled by paternal. The man with weapon in hand is the other grand emblem of the will-to-duration. A people "in condition" is originally a band warriorhood, a deep and intimately felt community of men fit for arms. State is the affair of man, it is Care for the preservation of the whole (including the spiritual self-preservation called honour and self-respect), the thwarting of attacks, the foreseeing of dangers,and, above all, the positive aggressiveness which is natural and self-evident to every life that has begun to soar.

A people shapes history inasmuch as it is "in condition" for the task of doing so. It livingly experiences an inward history —which gets it into this "condition", in which alone it becomes creative—and an outward history, which consists in this creation. People as State, then, are the real forces of all human happening. In the world-as-history there is nothing beyond them. They are Destiny."[23]

Historian's Place.

Professor Gustavson has likened history to 'a mountaintop of human knowledge from whence the doings of our own generation may be scanned and fitted into proper dimensions.' It follows from this that the historian holds a place higher than the rest of the

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22. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 79; Fuller: **History of Philosophy,** Vol. ii, p. 324; **Civilization: Past and Present,** Vol. i, pp. 1, ff.; **Historians ' History of the World,** Vol. i, pp. 1, ff.; Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 384-85.

23. Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. *ii, pp. 362-63.*

people because the frontiers of history have so extended as to encompass the universe and the historian has to survey the whole situation and present an over-all picture. Sitting high above others, he is to act as a judge and do justice. He is a tower of truth, endowed with an imagination which 'signifies the power of realizing things unseen', (*poetic* or *prophetic vision*) and equipped with knowledge and experience, both general and technical.[24]

Narrative: Story.

Generally, history is regarded as narrative or story, pure and simple. As such, it is stated, it should omit nothing true and incorporate nothing false. This implies historical criticism which 'lays the foundation for a rational belief that this or that particular event actually happened, that this or that particular condition actually existed.' The processes involved are assimilation and discrimination, generalization and organization, etc. of evidence, the pieces of information obtained are "the facts of history" and the product conceived either as body or as an account or narrative in which that body of knowledge is set forth, is history in the sense usually attached to the term by makers of definitions of history." Stories are a source of profound pleasure. Those pertaining to a picturesque, melodramatic and even miraculous past are 'uncommonly entertaining and exciting.' Historical narratives, which are 'full of tragedies, dramas, comedies of character and intrigue, novels of adventure,' differ from the admitted fairy-tales only by 'an attempt to prove that everything did actually happen as it is set down.' But human curiosity, which is as intuitive and inborn as love of stories, seeks for an explanation

24. Marc Bloch; **The Historian's Craft,** pp. 138, ff., 153-51. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** pp. 118, ff. Gustavson: **A Preface to History,** p. 2.

of the past: Listening to a story, the child in the bed interrupts and asks: Mother! Who was so and so? Why did he or she do that? How did that happen? What followed next? These and such like questions form the foundations of intellectual method, historical criticism and the philosophy of history.[25]

Its Foundation

To be authentic, the narrative must be based on authentic sources of information—traditional or documentary—and there must be a close and correct connection between them. Emphasizing the importance of evidence as basis of history, Max Nordau has observed that 'in the comparatively near future the developed methods of observing and recording facts, the increased use of photograph and the snapshot may enable us to obtain an objective record of that aspect of phenomena visible to the senses which will be definite and incontrovertible.'[26] That the latest methods of preserving the text and the texture of documents and the use of photostats and microfilms will ensure the objectivity of basic records forming the foundations of history admits of no doubt.

Record of Good and Evil.

With regard to the character of the contents of history, Barni says: "The subject of history is the record of good and evil, justice and injustice, rights and their opposites, virtues, sins, vices and weaknesses of the ancients, so that posterity may take their lessons to the heart and see the good of justice and the evils of injustice so far as political statecraft is

25. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, p. 32; Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography**, pp. 24-25; Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History**, p. 315.

26. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, p. 8; Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography**, pp. 24-25.

concerned and they may adopt virtuous ways and refrain from evil-doing.[27]

—Struggle for Existence.

Some people think that human history is the history of human *struggle for existence.* Looked at from this angle, it is an account of the *survival of the fittest.* Discussing the meaning and scope of history, Max Nordau came to the following conclusion:

> History in the widest sense is the sum of the episodes of the human struggle for existence. The definition hardly needs explanation. History, it implies, is the record of all great and small, that man has done and suffered, all that he has thought, imagined, and achieved within the limits of that natural and artificial environment into which he was born, in which he was to live, and by which any satisfaction of his needs and impulses is conditioned.[28]

—Pain and Pleasure.

History is also regarded as a record of human efforts to seek pleasure and to escape pain. Man is always moved to action by the need or necessity involved. 'If the causes of all human action be reduced to their simplest terms,' says Nordau, 'it would finally appear that the will of any indvidual is determined solely by the needs that appear in the consciousness as feelings of pain.' 'As long as he lives,' he adds, 'man seeks to escape pain, and all his efforts are directed to this one purpose.' Man is always after the blue-bird of happiness, but the sense of pain is stronger than the urge or desire for happiness, in that it rouses him to instantaneous action.[29]

Science.

Knowledge of the past, separated from sense-perception or human consciousness and resting on re-

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27. Zia Barni : **Tarikh-i-Firozshahi,** pp. 12-13.
28. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History.** p. 12.
29. **Vide Ibid.,** p. 256.

cords is a knowledge of signs and traces, comprising such disciplines as paleontology, palaeography and comparative philology, which are founded on the fact that signs are symbolic: "Effects are signs of their causes, fragments of their wholes, names of their meanings, pictographs and photographs of their originals." When the facts of the past are confirmed by the conclusions so drawn, these conclusions serve as standards with which the pictures of the same patterns can be judged and interpreted with fair precision. "But this procedure does not differ in principle," as Professor Perry points out, "from the procedure of natural science even when it is not primarily concerned with past events. The scientist relies on testimony and corroboration. In so doing he relies in turn on empirically tested beliefs concerning the credibility and veracity of witnesses. No scientist rests his conclusions wholly on his own observations; but accepts as evidence the observations of others which he infers from their behaviour, and, in the last analysis, from the meaning of words.'"[30] Characterizing both history and natural science as "nomographic," he observes: "Neither relies wholly on the observation of eyewitnesses; both employ inferences from general laws. The difference lies in the fact that while natural science is primarily interested in the law itself, and in the individual only for the purpose of verifying the law, the historian is primarily interested in the individual and in the law as a means of knowing the individual." Conceding that the method of historical knowledge differs from that of every other, he says, "the same can be said of physics, biology, or psychology; for the simple reason that if two sciences differ in their subject matter, they will also differ in their methods." If the natural scientist can say with certainty what the combination of two or more chemicals

30. Perry: **Realms of Value**, pp. 385-87.

in prescribed proportion will lead to, the historian can also say with certainty what will happen in a particular atmosphere or set of circumstances, in a particular place inhabited by a particular people with a particular bent of mind or mentality. If he lacks the accuracy of the scientist, it is because he deals with a difficult subject—the complexities of human nature and the comparative weakness of the evidence at his disposal.[31] The deficiency is more than made up by what is known as prophetic or poetic vision. And, finally, it must be noted that there is no finality even in science. We have already stated that the purest of all sciences—mathematics—is without it and we conclude with the comments of Professor Perry:

> Science no longer sounds a note of finality, but rather a note of emancipation and of imaginativeness. All of its findings are open to revision; its latest word is never its last word. It grows by out-growing; and this change occurs so rapidly that before men can unpack their belongings and begin to occupy the premises a new cosmos has been unfolded to view. The layman, plodding behind the scientist, and falling more and more behind, can gather little but a bewildered and exciting impression that nothing is any longer impossible.
>
> Limited horizons are enclosed within successively broader horizons until it has become reasonable to expect that all boundaries are movable and that what seems to be a whole will prove to be only a part. The wave may be discovered to be only a ripple on the back of some bigger wave. Magnitudes of space and time have so increased as to make familiar systems of measurement meaningless. Macrocosms become microcosms and microcosms become macrocosms. The human scale is completely eclipsed. The old immensities have become diminutive. Similarly, the old diminutives have become immensities.[32]

Ancillary Science.

Some serious scholars have held that history is a science inasmuch as it is systematized knowledge and

31. **Ibid.**, pp. 385-86.

32. **Ibid.** p. 490. Also see **History** in the **English Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences** and the **Encyclopaedia Britannica.**

has its own laws which are perfecting themselves. Efforts in this direction are in progress and it is hoped that the day is not far when the verdicts of history, like the laws of science, will be recognized by universal concurrence.[33] Oswald Spengler, who made a serious study of the subject, said that "the image of the past is mechanized and materialized and from it is deduced a set of causal rules for present and future" and added "We come to believe in historical laws and in a rational understanding of them."[34] Speaking of History as 'Man-knowing' and of Science as 'Nature-knowing,' and declaring the two as totally different, he observed:

Nevertheless, science is always natural science. Causal knowledge and technical experience refer only to the become, the extended, the comprehended. As life is to history, so is knowledge (Wissen) to Nature, viz., to the sensible world apprehended as an element, treated as in space and subjected to the law of cause and effect......"Facts are facts" even if we are unaware of them, and all else is image, *Theoria*, both in the one domain and in the other. But history is itself the condition of being "in the focus" and the material is only an aid to this condition, whereas in Nature the real aim is the winning of the material, and theory is only the servant of this purpose.

There is, therefore, not a science *of* history but an ancillary science *for* history, which ascertains that which has been. For the historical outlook itself the data are always symbols. Scientific research, on the contrary, is science and only science. In virtue of its technical origin and purpose it sets out to find data and laws of the causal sort and nothing else, and from the moment that it turns its glance upon something else it becomes *Metaphysics*, something trans-scientific. And just because this is so, historical and natural-science data are different. The latter consistently repeat themselves, the former never. The latter are *truths*, the former *facts*. However closely related incidentals and causals may appear to be in the everyday picture, fundamentally they belong to different worlds."[35]

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33. Jaffar: **Historical Wealth of N-W.F.P.**, pp. 6-7: Shotwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.**
34. Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i, pp. 151-53.
35. **Ibid.,** pp. 153-54.

Dealing with the historical method of ascertaining facts and the scientific method of observation and experimentation in connection with natural or physical phenomena and describing the former as indirect and the latter as direct, Dr. Johnson writes:

Often, however, no distinction is made between the historical method of establishing facts and the method of the natural sciences. On the one hand, we have books and articles on the "laboratory method" of studying history and university courses in history called "laboratory" courses. This seems to imply that the process of establishing facts in history is at least analogous to the process of establishing facts in a laboratory of natural science. On the other hand, there are physical realities which scientists have named but have never seen, realities known only through their effects and therefore known indirectly. The scientist in dealing with these realities may still claim that he is applying the scientific method, and if he is, the scientifc method may seem to include the historical method. There is, however, it may be urged, an important difference. The scientist's unseen realities, unlike the vanished realities of history, are present with their effects, and the effects can be tested by repeated experiment,' but this difference may easily be overlooked.[36]

Referring to the causes and conditions forming the foundations of historical facts and the difference between the inherent qualities and acquired qualifications of different historians, leading to different conclusions on the basis of the same data, Dr. Johnson observes:

Common usage has, however, extended the terms "scientific" and 'science" to kinds of knowledge which are neither established by direct observation and experiment nor generalized after the manner of the natural sciences. Any critical examination of evidence in arriving at facts may be called "scientific" and any critical organization of critically established facts may be called a "science." In this sense, we now have many sciences. History is one of the social sciences and as such may accept as fundamental the question of what is important.[37]

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36. Henry Johnson: **Teaching of History,** pp. 16-17.

37. **Ibid.,** pp. 17-21.

Philosophy.

History partakes of philosophy when it challenges *chance* and tends to concern itself with inductive and deductive reasoning—proceeding from the general to the specific and *vice versa*—, when it passes from the stage of simple narration of events to the stage of rational interpretation of facts, when it undertakes to explain the nature of historical knowledge and the character of its contents, and when it endeavours to discover the law underlying all events and 'introduces logical order into the events of the past, illuminates the present and casts light on the future.'[38] The Philosophy of History proceeds from the presumption that history is influenced, governed and regulated by some law. The function of this philosophy is 'to lift the veil that shrouds the great secret of the universe' and 'to catch hold of it by the nearest corner—the one which covers the history of human life.'[39] The past of the human race is 'a continuous story' and Schiller was right to remark that a 'long series of causally interconnected events can be traced from the present moment to the origin of the human species, that these *causes* were 'countless' and that 'their effects continue to be operative in the most recent development.'[40] Whereas history aims at the narration or description of what has happened, the philosophy of history explains their causal connection and meaning, i. e. interpretation. As to what *interpretation* implies, George Simmel's statement should suffice: 'There would be no history did we not see a meaning behind the external event, an intention behind

38. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 44, Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 17, ff. and Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 289, ff.

39. Nordau: **The Intropretation of History,** p. 48; Perry: **Realms of Value,** p. 390.

40. **Ibid.,** p.16; Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p.2.

the external deed, and a sensation behind the external definition; interpretation alone gives it meaning.'[41] There are three kinds of interpretation: (1) rectilinear—which marches straight forward, (2) cyclical—which goes round and round and (3) winding—which moves this side or that. They are not mutually exclusive, because the course of events, taken as a whole, may move forward or backward, round and round and even zigzag.[42] The association of First or Primeval Cause—Cause without Cause or Ultimate Cause—, with Providence and Divine Plan gave birth to the religious philosophy of history which found expression in taleological view. The 18th century was noted for *Reason* and the 19th century for *Historical Method*, which penetrated all fields of inquiry. Compte, Buckle and Spencer based their concepts on natural science, Hegel on dialectic and Marx on economics and dialectic. In short 'history was fitted to a design drawn from a part of itself and imposed on the whole.'[43] Later writers added intuition, insight, imagination and vision to explain the events of the past, and history rose a step higher in the scale of status.

Deterministic Conception.

This is the same as 'pragmatic historical method, in which they developed one event from another, explained one by another, and described one as conditioned by another.' The same idea has been expressed in these words: "First collect the facts, then connect them causally; that is the way that the work of the historian is represented in the deterministic conception." Hence it is stated that 'historical deter-

41. **Ibid.**, pp. 16, 40, (note 2, Simmel quoted).

42. Perry: **Realms of Value.** p. 390.

43. **Ibid.**, pp. 390-91.

minism perpetually generates the philosophy of history.'[44]

Cartesian Conception.

We have briefly described and discussed Descartes' Deductive Reasoning while dealing with the Importance of History in the preceding chapter. We may add a few words more: Born in the brain of one who was not an historian but who hated history, it was not intended for the interpretation of history. When applied to it by its admirers, it proceeded only half-way and then parted company. Descartes dispensed with all those qualitative values 'by which human life—as distinct from physical living—is measured.' His method had no place for imagination, feeling, vision, etc. and according to him art, literature, poetry and music were nothing more than mechanical form of human expression.[45]

Un-ending Argument.

Louis Blanc believed 'History begins and ends nowhere.' Geyl regards history as an argument without end and 'an argument which will not lead to any universally accepted conclusion.' He, however, assures us that 'the argument has not been and will not be fruitless.' He recounts the advantages of the argument as follows:

> It has illuminated much that was dark, it has led to agreement on larger tracts of ground, and even when it has not, the points raised by each side, the suggestions, explanations about motives and character, about the immense complications in which the miraculous career was enacted have enriched the picture. The argument, in other words, has led to a gradual even though partial conquest of reality.[46]

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44. Croce : **The Theory and History of Historiography,** pp. 54-55, 69; Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 42.

45. Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing,** Vol. ii, pp. 59-61.

46. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History,** p. 71.

History As Art.

The *art* of interpreting history is different from the *art* ordinarily understood and admired. It means a high form of imagination or intuitive insight which 'signifies the power of realizing things unseen'—the 'philosophic vision' of Ibn Maskawaih and the 'poetic' or 'prophetic vision' of Toynbee. Without it the philosophy of history will be false, for it is the living man as a whole, with all his idiosyncrasies, which it has to explain.[47]

The philosophy of history, if it is to be sound, must be drawn from a *knowledge of human nature*, since all history is made by man. Naturally, this knowledge must include an acquaintance with the past. But it must do more than that. It must be accompanied by an *imaginative ability* to put ourselves in the place of primitive peoples and to see whatever period we are studying through the eyes, not of our time and place, but of those who lived in it. Our failure to deal with primitive human life in terms of itself and our tendency to read into our own sentiments and conditions lead to errors.[48]

The *knowledge of human nature* and *imaginative ability* are developed by *intellect* and *experience* in very rare cases. Hence history is an art in so far as it is conditioned on genius.[49]

As Science and Philosophy.

Science deals with causation and philosophy with connections. The two are mutually complementary. Explaining the connection between the two, Flint has observed: "It is a grievous error when science renounces and discards philosophy. The mere scientist—the scientist who gazes exclusively at his subject and refuses to look at its surroundings and rela-

47. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** pp. 6, 78.

48. Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i. p. 107; Fuller: **History of Philosophy,** Vol. ii, p. 207; Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** p. 123.

49. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History,** p. 8.

tionships—is not the true scientist: the philosophic scientist alone is the true scientist. Philosophy and science should be combined." The mere philosopher —the philosopher without the knowledge of science— cannot be a true philosopher either. The dividing line between the science of history and the philosophy of history is so thin that 'the only mode of distinguishing between them,' says Flint, 'is that which assigns to the science of history the task of ascertaining the course, plan and laws of history itself, and to the philosophy of history that of tracing the relations of causation and affinity which connect history with other departments of existence and knowledge." But such science and philosophy, he adds, "are so plainly of the same nature and each is so manifestly feeble and imperfect without the other, that there can only be an occasional call to separate them, and ordinarily they ought to be combined, whether under the name of science or philosophy it matters little."[50] The gist of his discussion is this: "A science exclusive of philosophy is to be shunned, as well as a philosophy exclusive of science. Science is not to be dissociated from philosophy, any more than philosophy from science. Science can only prosper when it strives to become philosophic, as philosophy can only prosper when it strives to become scientific.''[51]

Science, Philosophy and Art.

So far as the over-all interpretation of history is concerned, the combination of science and philosophy is not enough, for history deals with human beings and in the final stages what the historian requires is knowledge and experience of human nature, penetrating insight and comprehensive vision, for which we have used the word *art*. To complete his work, as far as possible, the historian has to enlist the aid of this art.[52]

50. Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 19-20.
51. **Ibid.,** p. 19.
52. See pp. 129, ff.

Biological View.

According to this view: "Every culture passes through the age-phases of the individual man. Each has its childhood, youth, manhood and old age."[16] In other words, each culture rises, grows and reaches its climax and then declines, decays and dies. History is a record of the rise and fall of cultures. In other words, cultures are the basis of history.[53]

"Synthesis of Opposites".

According to Hegel's Philosophy, which is stated to be "Synthesis of Opposites," every important epoch or principal period in the life of a culture represents *unity* or *totality*, consisting of social, moral, intellectual, religious, aesthetic and other features. "Each principal epoch develops to an extreme limit its leading idea, and then breeds its opposite or antithesis." According to this view, development is due to the conflict of the opposites in the realm of ideas and the destruction of one phenomenon is the occasion for the rise of another. History is a portraiture of this process.[54]

Role of Divine Will.

Some savants and scholars, who have made a special study of history and religion, have held what is called *teleological view of history*—they have seen signs of Divine Will in the flow of events and the movements of history, and argued that the universe has not sprung up of its own and is not without a purpose. Hegel regarded 'religion as the keynote of all progress' and permitted state to override it when necessary.[55]

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53. Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. ii, pp. 26, 27, 44, 46-51; **Civilization: Past and Present, Vol. i, p. 11.**

54. See pp. 70. ff. See also Sibree: **Hegel's Philosophy of History.**

55. **Ibid.; Civilization: Past and Present, Vol. i, p. 17;** Shortwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.**

Challenge and Response.

According to Professor Toynbee, 'superior biological endowment and geographical environments' have nothing to do with the rise and growth of civilizations. He holds that all progress of man is rather the result of "a response to a challenge in situation of special difficulty which rouses him to make a hitherto unprecedented effort."[56]

Role of Unforeseen.

In dealing with the purely natural events outside the ambit of human will and action and in tracing their influence on the whole of human existence, Max Nordau observed :

> The purely natural events that are entirely outside the action of human will have had a greater influence on the destiny, not only of individuals, groups, or nations, but of human existence as a whole, than the whole range of what is assumed by historians to be essential and important—than the foundation of states, the establishment of religions, the rise and development of social institutions, the conception of law and property, constitutional and metaphysical ideas.[57]

A number of thinkers have come to the conclusion that there is 'a recurring pattern' in the history of civilizations, but there are also others who deny such a pattern. For instance, Professor Fisher of Oxford has stated:

> Men wiser and more learned than I have discerned in history a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me. I can see only one emergency following upon another as wave follows wave, only one great fact with respect to which, since it is unique, there can be no generalizations, only one safe rule for the historian: that he should recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen. This is not a doctrine of cynicism and despair. The fact of progress is written plain and large on the page of

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56. Toynbee: **A Study of History**, pp. 60, ff. 569-70; **Civilization on Trial**, P. 12.

57. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, p. 15.

history; but progress is not a law of nature. The ground gained by one generation may be lost by the next. The thoughts of men may flow into the channels which lead to disaster and barbarism.[58]

Economic Forces.

Another School (Marxian) holds that economic conditions—forces of production, distribution and consumption—are exclusively responsible for the rise and growth of civilizations, historic movements, social phenomena and human relationships, and that the *class struggle* supplies the *modus operandi* in history.[59]

Geological Conception.

Geology and History are also closely connected. In fact the former, which deals with the history of earth, is covered by the latter. Professor Gustavson has brought out the similarity between the two 'particularly in the analogy of successive layers and their outcroppings into our familiar surroundings' and traced the influence of one over the other in these words:

Geology develops a sense of time and a "*feel*" for the pattern of history. It does this by relating the present to the past, showing them as part of the same, and, by showing how the familiar and ordinary extends into the past, opening a friendly gateway for the exploration of the past. The geologist is the historian of nature who can identify when and under what conditions the various features of the physical world came into existence. He knows the characteristic fossils in each layer of rocks, each the record of one age, and, recognizing these, can describe the condition of the earth when these fossils were living creatures. The geologist lives in a present world which is also the world of the past, for everywhere he goes, his trained eye reads in the present the presence of the past. The functioning of human societies is also producing 'layers' which, in turn, are covered over by

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58. Fisher: **A History of Europe,** p. v; **Civilization: Past and Present,** Vol. i, pp. 19-20.

59. Thompson: **History of Historical Writing,** Vol. ii, pp. 628-30. **Civilization : Past and Present,** Vol. i. pp. 19-20; Shotwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.**

later societies, yet which in many instances leave 'outcroppings visible to the practiced eye. Various institutions, modified by later times, still remind of a past age.[60]

Geographical View.

The exponents of this view emphasize 'the interrelation between natural resources and physical environment on the one hand and man's institutions and activities on the other.' It stresses the importance of physical features and geographical factors in shaping the course and contents of history.[61]

Linear Theory.

'This theory envisages human experience as a stream of water that begins its journey as a small rivulet. As it flows on through the ages many peoples and civilizations enrich and increase its waters. The important thing is not that civilizations come and go but that all of them contribute to the stream of history, which gets broader and richer as it goes on.[62]

"Great Man Theory."

Thomas Carlyle himself summed up this theory in these words:—

This history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here. The History of the World is but the Biography of great men."[63]

The same idea is more aptly and accurately embodied in the dictims:—

"Great men sum up and represent humanity.'[64]

"The great men of history are the Spirit's Vehicles. They are

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60. Gustavson : **A Preface to History,** pp. 15-16.

61. Shotwell: **History in the Encyclopaedia Britannica: Civilization : Past and Present,** Vol. i, p. 236.

62. **Civilization : Past and Present,** Vol. i, p. 236.

63. Carlyle: **Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History,** p. 1. 27.

64. Cousin quoted. Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 474-75. Johnson: **Teaching of History, p.** 135.

the agents by which progress is carried on, and the yardsticks by which progress is measured"[65]

Civilization is developed in the brains of exceptional men endowed with more than common powers of thought and will, keen and sustained attention, comprehensive consciousness, manifold associations, and alert sense of reality—in a word with unusual energy in the brain cells.[66]

Hence the historian is regarded as 'the prophet of the past'—'backward looking prophet.[67]

Humanity lives by men of genius, they do not live by it.[68]

But for great men, according to this theory, there would have been no history. They are the pick of the past.

Historian's Own Choice.

Disgusted with the multiplication of conflicting, contradictory and even confusing theories and definitions of history, Professor Robinson recorded the following remarks in his **New History**:—

"I think that one may find solace and intellectual repose in surrendering all attempts to define history and in conceding that it is the business of the historian to find out anything about mankind in the past which he believes to be interesting or important and about which there are sources of information."[69]

Idea of Progress.

We have already dealt with *universal activity* and shown that *change* is the law of nature. Progress does imply change, but every change does not necessarily imply progress, when 'as a rule, the word *progress* includes the idea of an improvement.' According to Professor Perry, progress means change for the better and 'is always later in time and better in some

65. Fuller: **History of Philosophy,** Vol. ii, p. 324.
66. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 318.
67. **Ibid.**' p. 30. 68. **Ibid.**, p. 321.
69. Robinson quoted. Johnson: **Teaching of History,** p. 22.

scale of value,' the two determining factors being 'passage of time and rise in value.'[70] Why historical change should be for the better or why changes for the better should in the long run prevail over the changes for the worse particularly when the past is painted as picturesque and better than the present, is a question which has engaged the attention of serious scholars, but the views expressed are conflicting and contradictory. 'Good has greater durability,' it is stated, and 'only the true and the right survive in the long run.' The aphoristic phrase 'survival of the fittest' sums up the position. But *fittest* in what respect, with or without eminence in any scale of value—spiritual, moral, intellectual or material? History shows that there have been forward and backward, upward and downward movements in all these spheres.[71] Thinkers like Machiavelli and Bodin, who did not believe in morality, asserted that 'the world has always contained the same quantity of virtue and vice' or in other words 'the quantity of virtue and vice has always remained the same.'[72] Chances for vice to remain seem to be greater because the wicked employ all sorts of methods—right and wrong—whereas the virtuous restrict themselves only to lawful methods for the ends in view. But it will be conceded that evil is condemned even by evil-doers, so much so that a thief who has committed theft will never say that he has done a good deed. This is the *triumph of truth* and one can safely predict that right will drive out wrong in the long if not in the short run.

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70. Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 402-03; Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 288.

71. Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 87, ff.; Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 403-04.

72. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 284, According to Lamartine, a great poet, the notion of progress is a dream, a Utopia, an absurdity. **Ibid.,** p. 285.

It is believed by some that both have made progress, if the word progress can be used for indicating their quantity, and that evil will continue to be used as a test and virtue as a model for mankind. Men have never remained and will not remain the same, but the question to be answered is precisely: Have men made progress—physically, materially, morally, and spiritually? The results of the researches in these fields are violently divergent.[73] While progress in knowledge and science is widely accepted, that in moral and spiritual spheres is generally denied. We have already dealt with this question once and we will do so again in view of its importance.

Face of Modern World.

Dealing with the Face of the World in 1924, Gustave Le Bon says:

> Having remained the equals of animals in the domain of organic life, we are not much beyond them in the domain of sentiment. It is only in the cycle of intelligence that our superiority has become immense. It is owing to this that the continents have been joined and that thought is transmitted from hemisphere to hemisphere with the speed of light.
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> But the intellect which, in the recesses of our laboratories, arrives at so many discoveries has hitherto exercised but a feeble influence upon social life. It remains under the dominance of impulses which are not governed by reason. The sentiments and the rages of the earliest ages have kept their hold on the souls of the nations, and determine their actions.
>
> We cannot understand events unless we take account of the profound differences which separate mystic and emotional impulses from rational considerations. They explain why individuals of superior intelligence have at all times accepted the most infantile beliefs such as the worship of the Serpent or of Moloch. Millions of human beings are still dominated by the imaginings of illustrious hallucinated founders of religious and political

73. Toynbee: **Civilization on Trial,** pp. 150-51; Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 87, ff., Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 302, ff., Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** pp. 283, ff.

faiths. Even in our days, communistic chimeras have had the power to ruin a gigantic empire and to threaten other countries.

It is also because intellectual development has little influence on the sentiments that we saw in the last war men of high culture set fire to cathedrals, massacre the old people and ravage provinces for the sole lust of destruction.

We do not know what influence reason will one day exercise on the march of history. If its only influence is to provide those emotional and mystical impulses which still threaten the world with more and more powers of devastation our great civilizations are doomed to share the fate of the great Asiatic Empires whose power did not save them from destruction and whose last traces are now covered by sand.

Future historians, meditating on the causes of the ruin of modern societies, will then no doubt say that they perished because the sentiments of their defenders did not evolve as rapidly as *their intellects.*[74]

Discussing the problem of progress in his "little known" *Ideas for a General History,* Kant expressed the following views :

We are cultured to a high degree by art and science. We are over-civilized (zivilisiert bis zum Ueberlastigen) to all manner of politeness and decency. But to consider ourselves as moral, much is still lacking. For the idea of morality belongs to culture; the use of this idea, however, which confines itself to love of honour and superficial decency, is only similar to morality, is merely civilization. Nothing of this sort (morality) can be expected, so long as States use all their forces for their vain and violent plans for expansion, and thereby incessantly block, as well as withdraw support from, the inner education of the way of thinking of their citizens; for morality requires a long inner elaboration of every common being for the training of citizens. But everything which is not based upon moral-good intentions, is nothing but mere pretence and glittering misery. Mankind will remain in this condition until it will have fought its way out of the chaos of its state-relationship in the manner which I have described.[75]

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74. Gustave Le Bon : **The World Unbalanced,** pp. 10-11.

75. Quoted from Kant's **Ideas for a General History,** Thompson: **A History of Historical Writing,** Vol. ii, pp. 112-13. Mark the sense in which Kant has used the words **culture** and **civilization** in the quoted text and see pp. 21, ff. of this Volume. Also see Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i, p. 31.

Religion versus Recreation.

Max Nordau, who admitted the progress of art and science but lamented the lack of morality, recorded the following remarks after a discussion with Dr. F. Strauss on the contemporary trends including the losing battle which the then religion was fighting against reason :—

> We found ourselves in agreement in holding that in the civilization of the future, art would take the place of faith, and concerts, plays, exhibitions, and aesthetic celebrations of every sort, that of the Church service. Certainly the ideas originally called up by the religious sentiment will lose their connection with it, and gradually fade away.[76]

War & Weapons.

War is a very old institution—as old as, if not older than, civilization itself. It occupies lion's share of space in history. Failing peaceful means, negotiations and arbitration, the sword decided the disputes among the contending parties. With the invention of deadly weapons and the organization of scientific warfare, it became easy to destroy human life, states and civilizations, but there was no danger of the whole of human race being wiped out of existence. With the development of the means of communication and transport, leading to the physical unification of the world, and the invention of atomic weapons, the peace of the world is threatened with the 3rd world war—genocide or the extinction of entire human race. In order to avert the danger that is so potent and so patent, it is suggested that war should be abolished. It is, however, felt and taken for granted that there is a "vein of pugnacity and aggressiveness in human nature" and that it is 'ineradicable.'[77] As an alternative, it is sug-

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76. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** p. 207.

77. Toynbee: **Security and Disarmament in the Age of Atomic Weapons,** pp. 1-2.

gested that the pugnacity of man, which is too strong to be suppressed, should be diverted from the battle fields to the play-grounds or some other outlets be found for it.[78] If that pugnacity is allowed to find expression or if inhuman aggressiveness is thus encouraged, it is feared, it will develop into a serious menace, capable of devouring the whole of mankind. What is required is self-control or suppression of such pugnacity and aggressiveness—qualities which distinguish man from brute beast. Disarmament or reduction in armed forces and the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons is another step suggested to stop the next world war.[79] There was lot of talk about this after the first world war but the second world war could not be averted. Armament and rearmament continued at accelerated speed and the invention of atomic weapons such as missiles was the result. Disarmament is both difficult and dangerous in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. This is established by the recent history of the world. The abolition of war should be the aim and efforts to eliminate it must continue. If equally old and established institutions like *slavery* could be prohibited on universal basis, there is no reason why *war* should be made an exception.[80] If man cannot afford to see his fellow being losing his freedom like a slave, how can he tolerate atomic genocide? In the absence of such 'goodness and selfless love,' which right religion alone can bring, the fear of total annihilation of the human race is the only effective check on the outbreak of the atomic world war. If, however, the wise begin to act unwisely, they must be prepared to face the impending doom.[81]

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78. **Ibid.**, pp. 2-3. 79. **Ibid.**, pp. 3-4.

80. **Ibid.**, p. 2. Also see Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 370-71.

81. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, p. 249.

Rise of Nationalism.

The term *nationalism* is applied to 'a corporate feeling, shared by the members of some section of the human race that they are a distinct and separate community.' This feeling finds expression and is found in action in a wish and an effort to have 'local sovereign independent state of their own.'[82] Faith formed the foundation of such factions in the past and the followers of one faith were differentiated from those of others by such words as Jews, Christians, Muslims, etc. In the beginning of what is now called the Modern Age—or approximately in the 16th century a new movement started in Western Europe and spread over Central and Eastern Europe, America, Asia and Africa. This was nationalism and henceforth the devotion to the Fatherland and the Mother Country led them to express their identity by such words as English, German, French, American, etc. The fight for freedom was followed by the recognition of independence and the rise of new nations, mutually antagonistic and at logger-heads with their past masters.[83] To-day the stream of humanity flows divided into a number of water-tight compartments. Whatever the genesis of the new idea, the present concept of nationalism militates against the unity of the human race and stands as a stumbling-block in the path of peace and progress.[84] In an age when the whole world is physically united, this narrow outlook is out of date and is rightly characterized as 'immoral and disastrous,' because exclusive attachment and allegiance to different parties and powers have turned fellows and friends into foreigners and foes.[85]

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82. Toynbee: **The Rise of Nationalism in Non-Western Countries in Our Own Time,** p. 1.

83. **Ibid.,** pp. 2-3; Gustavson: **A Preface to History,** pp. ff.

84. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** pp. 79, ff. Toynbee: **The Rise of Nationalism in Non-Western Countries,** p. 3.

85. Toynbee: **The Prospects for World Government,** p. 1.

Physical Unification.

Referring to the late Modern Age, Professor Toynbee says that "Technology has replaced Religion" and that "the West has transferred its spiritual allegiance from the inspired saint to the invincible technician." According to him, actually technology is "a neutral power" and Man is the Master who can put it to any use—good or bad. With the conquest of time and space by means of inventions and discoveries, it tends to create what is called "world-government" and "one family of mankind." Physical proximity or unification is bringing heterogeneous elements together. It is also responsible for political tension and economic interdependence. It is bound to create complications which will culminate in a calamity if it is not accompanied by what is called "a union of hearts" at universal level.[86] The race for rearmament, the experiments on atomic energy, the expedition to the moon, etc. are unmistakable indications of the way the wind is blowing. The Balance of Power, the League of Nations, the United Nations Organization, etc.—all expressing a sense of fear—can only postpone but cannot prevent the impending doom. The "innate character" and the application of science—"observation and experiment"—to Religion or quest for Truth will decide the real issue.[87]

Spiritual Unification

After taking stock of the world-situation and noting its grimness, Professor Toynbee holds that:

> If a twentieth-century Westernizing World, in its turn, were to purchase security at the price of submitting to the political and economic bondage of some kind of oecumenical government, Religion will be the field, once again, in which human beings would seek freedom without which they cannot live, and also once

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86. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 144, ff.

87. Ibid., pp. 215, ff.

again the field in which the public authorities would be least chary of leaving open the necessary vent.[88]

World Government.

Inventions and discoveries in rapid succession have, under the guidance of technology, ensured the improved means of communication and transportation and contributed to the conquest of distance. They have accomplished the physical unification of the world and established closer contacts between the peoples hitherto separated by geographical barriers.[89] The inevitable change in the out-look of the world is evident and the prospects of having a world government founded on faith and fidelity rather than force and fraud have became brighter. It was in the pre-atomic age when ambitious adventurers could entertain the idea of establishing a world government and undertake the conquest of the world without exposing it to total annihilation.[90] To-day the fear of outright extinction of mankind by atomic weapons has cowed down the most callous and knocked such ideas out of man's mind. The people have now started thinking seriously of setting up a world-state on the basis of mutual good-will and agreement. A common language, a common way of life and a common civilization are counted among the unifying forces at work, and it is hoped that international organizations will bring about the requisite change possibly in the form of federation of nations by the standardization of morals and manners, habits and hobbies, the recognition of civil rights and the enforcement of law and order, etc.[91] At a time when we are stressing the importance of so many common

88. **Ibid.**, pp. 249.

89. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 114, ff.

90. Toynbee: **Prospects of World Government**, p. 1.

91. **Ibid.**, pp. 2-3.

institutions for the formation of the whole of humanity into 'a single family' under one government, one cannot help feeling and announcing that the soul is missing and the body so built, beautiful it may be, is bound to be without life. There is cent per cent certainty that the world-state based on the union of hearts (common religion) would be as permanent and profitable as the one without it would be wanting and weak. A common religion is, therefore, the direst necessity. Since absolute truth or reality is indivisibly one, there can be no two or more approaches to it. It is for the age of reason to find out and follow the right religion.[92]

Review of Views.

Some of the modern ideas and ideals about history have been examined and evaluated at their proper places. What remains is a review of the views of experts on the point whether history is a branch of belles lettres or a separate subject, a distinct discipline or a science, a philosophy or an art; and to see how far the theories and thoughts of thinkers like Carlyle, Hegel, Marx, Spengler and Toynbee hold water.

History as a Subject.

Some scholars have held that history is a collection of stories and hence a branch of belles lettres; others have stated that it is a narrative and hence a separate discipline; yet others have given it the status of a science; still others have hailed it as a philosophy and others still have raised it to the dignity of an art at a high level.[93] They are right in advancing their claims in their respective spheres, but they blunder when they deny the claims of those advancing or advocating views other than their own inasmuch as

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92. See pp. 138, ff. Also see Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 491-92.

93. See pp. 117, ff.; 192, ff.

each one of these disciplines has a hand in history. History is all that has happened—whether it is preserved or left unrecorded. It is a simple story or a narrative when it is thoughtlessly reproduced like a parrot; it is a discipline when it is treated intellectually; a science when it is dealt with scientifically; a philosophy when it is explained with inductive and deductive methods; and an art when it is viewed as a whole and interpreted artistically with imaginative sympathy and vision. Spengler, Flint and Runciman are right when they regard it as a science, philosophy and art rolled into one. As a matter of fact, history is always history and never a science, a philosophy or an art; it is the method of treatment which is scientific, philosophic or artistic.[94]

Great Man Theory.

Carlyle's Great Man Theory of History devoted itself exclusively to 'magnificent dramatic creations' and utterly ignored the part played by the proletariat—the masses or the men in the street. Besides, it attempted to explain nothing of *how* and *why*. Carlyle included God and Prophets also among the heroes. The King occupied the highest place in his scheme. "Find in any country the Ablest Man that exists there, raise him to supreme place, and loyally reverence him. You have a perfect government for that country....It is in the perfect state, an ideal country.....To enthrone the ablest man is the true business of social procedure."[95] Carlyle's ideas were a great source of strength for monarchy and despotism.

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94. This is the result of the discussion at pp. 213-22. See Flint: **Philosophy of History,** pp. 17, ff.; Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i, pp. 151-53; Runciman's Lecture on History.

95. Carlyle: **Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History,** pp. 181, ff., 231 ff.

Hegelian Philosophy.

Hegel 'got no closer to realities.'[96] His view that 'religion is the key-note of all progress' may be praised for what it is worth, but his concept that the doings of all States and the deeds of all great men are unquestionable even when they are wrong must be questioned. His postulate that every succeeding epoch invariably marks improvement on the preceding one is also untenable. It should be noted that he 'emphasized the infallibility of submission to the State'[97] with a purpose, which Geyl has expressed in one short sentence: 'Nationalism was switched to the wagon of Prussian monarchy, the state generally, or all constitutional power,' and explained it further by stating: 'Hegel was not a historian. He took up the idea of the historical process and hammered it into a system, and the result of this combination of history and philosophy proved an engine of dangerous potency in fatting men's minds for the struggle of politics.'[98] Referring to the interpretation of history, Professor Shotwell says that 'he interprets it without knowing what it is.' According to him: 'History written to fit the Hegelian metaphysics would be almost as vigorous a distortion as that which Orosius wrote to fit Augustinian Theology.''[99]

Marxian Theory.

Marx "too went to absolute, simply turning Hegel's upside down."[100] He was too materialistic to make any allowance for moral and spiritual values. 'It is not enough for a man" says Nordau, 'to have his

96. Shotwell: **History in the Encylopaedia Britannica.**
97. As to the character of States, See Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 177. ff., 211, ff.
98. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History**, pp. 35, 38.
99. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History**, p. 328.
100. **Ibid.**, p. 332.

hunger and thirst satisfied, and his body clothed and adorned; he has intellectual and spiritual needs that are as a rule far more acute than his merely vegetative ones."[101]

Spengler's Approach.

Spengler's approach to world-history through culture and civilization marks a distinct landmark in universal historiography, but his theory that all living cultures are independent organisms, which are not influenced by one another, is too leaky to hold water. According to him, 'civilizations arose, developed, declined, and foundered in varying conformity with a fixed time-table and no explanation was offered for any of this.' Professor Toynbee, who has followed Spengler in his treatment of world-history, regards this 'arbitrary fiat' as 'disappointingly unworthy of Spengler's genius' and its author as 'most unilluminatingly dogmatic and deterministic.'[102] How cultures and civilizations have influenced one another looms large on the face of history.

Toynbee: Challenge & Response.

Professor Toynbee's theory of *challenge and response*, based mainly on the views of Max Nordau, is a valuable addition to Modern Historical Thought, but that is not the whole truth. Many more factors and forces also influence the course and contents of history. History has ample evidence to show how challenge remained without response in many cases for want of means and methods, etc. on the side of the challenged. Dealing with the same problem in his own way and in his own day Max Nordau said that when man was left to choose between 'toil and extinction' he

101. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 77, 270.

102. Toynbee: **Civilization on Trial**, p. 10.

preferred the former and this was responsible for his 'intellectual development.' Dealing with what is now called the theory of challenge and response, Nordau said that he was 'not blind to the fact that the formula does not cover the whole field.' Referring to the people of Terra del Fuego, where the challenge of nature was so strong and severe that the challenged could not stand and survive, he said: 'The enmity of nature has not roused them to defence. They have invented no protection like the civilization of other races. Necessity alone cannot, therefore, raise man to conquering independence; there must be faculties within him which enable him to combat the hostility of nature effectively; and it is obvious that these faculties are not present in all men to the same degree.'[103] Often the challenge remained unresponded. What followed was submission or surrender and even nature worship. While studying Toynbee, we should also see how far Geyl is right when he says that "the worst of Toynbee's great attempt is that he has presented it under the patronage of a scientific terminology."[104]

Human Psyche: Psycho-Analysis.

Professor Toynbee has also dealt with Human Psyche—Poetic and Prophetic Vision—, or the role of the sub-conscious as one of the determining factors in human conduct and brought out its importance in interpreting and explaining historical phenomena.[105] He has, in a way, prepared the ground for the understanding of the Islamic institution of Prophecy in the West. Professor H. M. Hyde has made a valuable contribution to this important aspect of history by dealing with the Freudian Methods in an illuminating lecture. He says:

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103. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History,** pp. 128, ff.
104. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History,** p. 65.
105. We have dealt with this subject on pages 132-34.

We connot ignore the cantribution of another individual in the realm of history, although unlike Marx he was in no sense a historian. This is Sigmund Freud, whose achievements and those of his school in depicting the role of the sub-conscious as a determining factor in human conduct, has undoubtedly influenced the treatment of historical evidence in the light of the processes of psycho-analysis. As a result new explanations, sometimes far-fetched in the extreme, have come to be advanced for actions hitherto inexplicable or incomprehensible. This development has led some historical, or I should say pseudo-historical writers, who have picked up a smattering of Freudian lore, to put forward psychological theories which cannot really be supported by the known facts.

However, in spite of the dangers and difficulties in interpreting human motives individually and in the mass by the clinical methods of Freud, I agree with Sir Charles Webster that historians everywhere have been much influenced by this conception, that it has become part of the climate of opinion in which they work, and that in being thus enabled to see deeper into the characters of many great men and women, the historians of to-day owe a great debt to Sigmund Freud. Freudian methods are also useful in studying problems of mass psychology, such as are presented by the influence of conscious and sub-conscious feelings of fear.[106]

Over-all Influence.

To say that history is influenced by economic forces, geographical factors, geological features, biological equipment, religious and moral values, the role of the unforeseen, the play of the contingent, natural phenomena, human reaction or response to challenge, etc. is perfectly correct, but to hold any of these forces or factors exclusively responsible for the historical phenomena as a whole is not only an utter exaggeration but a gross misrepresentation of truth. In other words, all the concepts of history so far expressed by experts are partial and imperfect and call not only for co-ordination and consolidation, but also for correction and completion.

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106. Hyde: **Recent Developments in Historical Method and Interpretation,** pp. 19-20.

Chapter VIII

ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE PAST

Introductory.

In the course of tracing the *history of history*, we have had occasions to refer to religion as the greatest spiritual force and to point out the interrelation and interdependence of the two forces—religion and history; we have indicated the role of both for *good* when rightly followed and for *evil* when abused by interested persons and parties, and shown how they have suffered so heavily at the hands of self-seekers; we have quoted 'competent critics' in support of the statement that religion is being replaced by recreative arts and amusements, that the wave of Westernization has accelerated the estrangement and turned it into an open rift; that the two world wars have shaken the foundations of the planet we inhabit and that the fear of total annihilation or extinction of the human race stands in the way of third; we have also stated that side by side with 'the spiritual crisis', there are signs of reaction and return to religion as the 'last refuge.'[1] Here in this chapter we will begin with a brief definition of the word *religion* as well as its *soul* in order to understand its role in the past; describe the absolute reality or truth and deal with such important topics as the laws of nature and the working of the divine plan, the divine message and the messengers of God, miracles and magic and their connection with religion, the rise of religion, dogmatism and blind belief; objects of worship and mythology; the forces of *good* and *evil*, the deflection from *truth*,

1. See pp.7-9, 71, 78, 82, ff., 132, ff., 136, ff. 156-58, 164, 179-81, 212-13, 223, 227, ff.

and religious persecution, alleged invention of *religion* and the influence of state on religion, *Wahi* and *Revelation* and the difference between the two. While dealing with the history of 'higher religions,' we will delineate their chief characteristics and try to trace their influence on human history. Forms of worship, ritual, etc. will not claim our attention, except where necessary.

What is Religion?

The definition of *religion* is legion.[2] As widely understood, it means 'the service and adoration of God or a god as expressed in forms of worship, in obedience to divine commands, especially as found in accepted sacred writings or as declared by recognized teachers, and in pursuit of a way of life regarded as incumbent on true believers.'[3] It implies two things: (1) Belief in God, or a god including obedience and worship, and (2) a way of life and good deeds, as summed up in the sentence: 'Trust in God and do the right.'[3] For our purposes, however, it is sufficient to say that religion means recognition of Absolute Reality or Truth — the Creator and the connection between Him and His Creation—and not such ideas and ideals as *Nirvana* or *Najat*, *Mukti* or *Moksha*, Salvation or Liberation, all of which mean one and the same thing—that which cannot be attained without religion. Before proceeding further, it is necessary to define God.

What is God?

God has been defined 'as any divine being who is given religious worship, whatever form or shape he may take, be it that of a man, an animal, a mysterious mountain, tree or stone, or the One Supreme Creator

2. See **Religion** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica**, the **New Educator Encyclopaedia** and the **Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia**.

3. See **Religion** in Webster's **New International Dictionary of the English Language**.

and Ruler of all things.'[4] Sometimes the same word is also used to mean 'a divine principle running through everything in the universe.' When written with capital G it refers to One Universal God and when written with small g it refers to miniature man-made gods of many kinds.[5] Man's idea about God has differed from time to time and place to place according to the standard of his intellect and the force of the environment in which he found himself. From the loftiest forces of nature to the lowest reptilia on the earth have formed the objects of his worship. At the other end of the scale, it is stated, the people who thought of God as the Creator and Sustainer of the Universe readily realized that no physical form or shape could adequately represent him.[6] Those who were not satisfied with the invisibility of the Creator and who wanted to see Him physically face to face, made His images and worshipped them. For every attribute of God they selected a suitable symbol, embodied it in a specific object and deified it for worship. Thus for instance, Atlas, who has been described as holding the universe on his head, is regarded as a symbol of strength or a monument of might.[7] Deification and symbolization were not restricted to divine attributes, but extended to other themes also. Thus Cupid, who has been pictured as a naked, winged, and blindfolded boy with bow and arrow, is a symbol of sexual love, which is believed to be blind.[8] Greek gods, and goddesses vied with Indian gods and goddesses in sense and significance. It was in this way that the unity of Godhead was shattered and the concept of the Creator was clouded.

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4. See **God** in **The New Educator Encyclopaedia.** 5. **Ibid.**

6. **Ibid.** Also see **God** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica.**

7. See **Greek Gods** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica; The New Educator Encyclopaedia** and the **Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia.**

8. **Ibid.** Also See **Greek Mythology. Ibid.**

Concepts About Creator.

Elsewhere we have made it clear that concepts about the Creator have differed in different cases for different reasons.[9] 'Men are unequal in stature, skull, formation, and colour; they are no less unequal in temperament and character.'[10] Here we are not concerned with the causes of this inequality.[11] Differing in their concepts as to the forms and features, character and characteristics of the Creator, the founders and followers of different faiths have recognized His existence. Divine Unity is older than religion, but it has been honoured more by violation than by observance. Nature-worship, Woman-worship, Animal-worship, Idol-worship, Trinity or division of One into three, etc. conclusively confirm the conclusion.[12] The Primeval Cause or the Cause without Cause or the Ultimate Cause—the Creator, the Absolute Truth, the Absolute Reality—is one. If the goal is one, the approach to that goal, *fixed by God*, must also be one.[13] Two or more different approaches will lead to two or more different goals. Absolute Truth is indivisibly one and there is but one way to it.[14] In other words, there is one God and there is one religion in the right sense of the word. We will deal with the different concepts about God while giving an account of the higher religions of the world, but before doing so we must be sure about the presence of the Power behind the

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9. See pp. 19-20, 24-25. Also see **Religion** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica**.

10. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, p. 236.

11. **Ibid.**, pp. 136-37, 235, ff.

12. See **Religion** and **Worship** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica**; **The New Educator Encyclopaedia**; **The Junior Encyclopaedia**; Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 16, ff.

13. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 188-90, 257-58.

14. Locke quoted. **Ibid.**, p. 189.

phenomena. We will explain this by quoting questions about God (Providence) and giving replies thereto.

Where is God?

There are people (atheists) who deny the presence and power of the Providence in the presence of the forces of *evil* and their outward successes against *good.* Referring to the atrocities committed in various forms and at various places, a critic asks:

> Where was this Providence when Greece was given over to the plunder of the rude Romans, when ancient civilization was blotted out by the race migration, when Anglo-Saxon England of Harold was handed over to the Norman freebooters, when Europe was laid waste by the Mongolian Ojenghis Khans and by the Black Death? How did it permit Alba to carry out what he did in the Netherlands, permit Henry IV to be murdered by Ravaillac, allow the Thirty Years' War to ravage Germany and take sides with oppression against freedom in 1849? Such a list can be almost indefinitely extended.[15]

Where is He Not?

The above-quoted questions convey the impression that there is no Providence or Power behind the phenomena. The critic could be repaid in his own coin by being confronted with such counter-questions as: Where is it not present? Is the universe autogenous and automatic? What is responsible for the working of the universal organism or cosmos and the systematic movements of the sun, the moon and the stars, etc? What was the fate of Pharaohs and their followers? Where are Nero and Nimrod? Has not history established the truth of the maxim: 'Tyrants merely procure infamy for themselves and glory for their victims?'[16] Is not the Power that creates and sustains the universe omnipotent? Is it not everywhere and ever-active? Do we not feel it every

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15. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 61-62.

16. Tacitus quoted. See p. 178 of this Volume.

moment? If it did not choose to express itself in some tangible form, it was obviously because that would have limited its presence to a particular place, at a particular time and, in the case of a living being, subjected it to disease and death, decline and decay. The Providence has its own plan—an over-all plan—beyond our comprehension and control, but by no means beyond our perception.[17] It follows a regular course of causation at the highest level and never makes jumps, either awkward or un-called for.[18] If it does not do as we desire (note that our desires are so different) according to our limited knowledge and wisdom, we cannot blame it. The proof of the presence of the Providence may be summed up in the following words: In the first place, the fact that 'the whole universe and all parts of it are governed by natural laws proves that a supreme mind is at the back of everything.' Secondly, the presence of morality in man proves that there is 'a higher moral force.' Thirdly, 'In nature all forces of life are adapted to their environment and this design in nature proves the existence of God.' Fourthly, 'Belief in the supernatural seems to be an almost universal instinct of the human nature and it is undoubtedly true that the majority do not require a concrete tangible proof upon which to base such belief.' Fifthly, the fact that the entire *existence* is nothing but *creation* points to the presence of the Creator—Ultimate and Primeval. Just as a piece of art or any other product reminds one of its author, similarly the *existence* and its *order* or the *cosmos* and all that is contained in it reminds one of the Creator and affords proof of His presence. Sixthly, it is an admitted fact that *change* is universal. 'The universe is never stationary; all is movement.' The question is: Who is the mover—the ultimate

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17. See p. 140. Also see **Al-Quran**, iii: 54.

18. See Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 42, ff.

mover? The reply is nothing but *God.* Finally, the spiritual urge in human beings is innate and inborn, and it always seeks self-expression.[19]

Good and Evil.

We have made some passing references to these two forces and pointed out that there are virtues which are universally extolled and there are vices which are universally condemned.[20] We have also shown how concepts of culture varied in various cases for a variety of reasons and how certain acts and attitudes evoked simultaneous admiration and condemnation in different quarters.[21] We will now probe the problem at some length within the limited space. We are told that 'Evil is the inevitable companion of good; no evil, no good.' This is sometimes taken to mean that there can be no good without evil—that good is the fruit of evil. It is stated that in certain cases good is based on evil. For instance, sin is no evil since it is required for such good qualities as repentance and forgiveness; or that a villain is not wicked when his villainy is required for the good of a tragedy proposed to be enacted for some specific purpose—melodrama, martyrdom, etc.[22] It is also argued that for every virtue there is a corresponding vice. For instance: right and wrong, good and bad, pleasure and pain, success and failure, etc. Such is the logic of evil-doers to defend their evil deeds. It is argued that if Yazid had not ordered the execution of Husain, the latter would not have received the honour of martyrdom. Likewise, it can be argued that if

19. **Ibid.**, pp. 185, ff. Also see **Religion** and **God** in the **Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia** and **The New Educator Encyclopaedia**; Shibli: **Ilm-ul-Kalam,** Part I, pp. 83-94, 135, ff.; Ibn Maskawaih: **Al-Fauz-ul-Asghar;** Hamid: **Ibn Maskawaih,** pp. 7, ff. 87, ff.

20. See pp. 19-20.

21. **Ibid.**

22. Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 284-85.

those who had been entrusted with the enactment of the tragedy had not carried out his orders, Husain would not have received that honour.[23] It must be noted, however, that acts are judged by intentions. What was the intention Yazid—to secure his position by removing Husain from his way or to glorify Husain by organizing and ordering his execution? The answer is evident. Evil does not give birth to good, but it does mark out what is good by contrast in the same way as good exposes what is bad by contrast. The acceptance of the argument in favour of evil will mean the victory of evil and *cause* will claim greater honour than the intention. In such a state of affairs there will be no evil at all: good will remain good and evil will also become good by killing the good and thus becoming the cause of their glory and greatness. Evil is always evil and cannot become good and bring credit to the evil-doers because the victims of evil gain glory and greatness by making sacrifices.[24]

Source of Evil.

What is the source of evil? In other words: Who is the creator of evil? The same who has created the world in which 'evil abounds'—the same who is all good and 'without flaw or blemish'?[25] The position is positively paradoxical and requires a word of explanation. If the fallacy is detected, the paradox will disappear. In the first place, it should be noted that God has set up everything—the entire universe, but He is not part of the creation and nothing has emanated from Him. If He is part of the creation, He cannot be the Creator. Likewise, if

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23. **Ibid.** 24. **Ibid.**; Abdul Hakim: **Tashbihat-i-Rumi,** pp. 408-10, 438-44.

25. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 140-41, 217-18; Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** pp. 175, ff., 275-77; Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 403, ff.

everything has emanated from Him, He is part of the creation and the same principle holds good again. The fact that He is the Creator of all things marks Him out as totally different from them. Secondly, it must be remembered that having created man out of the goodliest order and endowed him with all the faculties of judging between good and bad, doing this and refraining from that, God placed him in the universe and made him responsible for his thoughts, words and deeds. The abuse or misuse of these faculties, and not God, was responsible for the evil that ensued. According to Islamic Ideology disobedience was the tap-root of all evil. Iblis disobeyed God and became its fountainhead.[26]

God's Guidance.

Having created man from the goodliest order and assigned him the highest place in the scheme of creation in view of his inherent abilities and aptitudes, God did not leave him alone on the stormy sea without aim and without guidance. In order to put him on the right path when he tended to go astray, God sent him His guidance (message or book) through His messengers (also called prophets) chosen from mankind from time to time. If the message was the guidance, the messenger was the guide. If the message was the book, the messenger was the teacher. The teacher explained the text and demonstrated its practicability by putting it in action himself. That the rise of reformers and prophets was a historical phenomena is true, but it is also true that there was some power at the back of the historical phenomena.[27] Man was moulded by the milieu and the moment as well as by the

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26. See p. 58 and note 31; **Al-Quran,** ii: 34; Abdul Hakim: **Tashbihat-i-Rumi,** pp. 236-40.

27. Perry: **Realms of Value.** p. 491; **Religion** in the **Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia.**

innate character and the inherent qualities which he brought with him and which in special cases raised him far above the average. With the superior knowledge, intuition and insight, with which he was specially endowed, he performed what are called miracles.[28]

What Are Miracles?

When the messengers of God (prophets) proclaimed their mission, the people generally demanded proof in support of their claims.[29] Miracles served the purpose to a certain extent. Sometimes they were rejected as magic. What are miracles? Are they historical facts or mere figments of imagination? Are they against the established laws of Nature, impossible and hence outside the area of history? For the appropriate answers of these questions, it is necessary to define *miracle* and to distinguish between what is possible and what is impossible.

Their Definition.

Miracles are defined and described as marvels, wonders, superhuman acts, etc.[30] The Arabic equivalent for *miracle* is *mo'jiza*—that which frustrates, incapacitates or renders helpless.[31] In this sense, miracles are mysteries or marvels for those who do not know the causes and conditions responsible for

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28. Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i, p. 102; Toynbee; **An Historian's Approach to Religion,** pp. 119-21; Hamid: **Ibn Maskawaih.**

29. Sulaiman Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. iii, pp. 4-5.

30. See **Miracles** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica**; **The New Educator Encyclopaedia** and **The Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia.**

31. See Ayat in the **Lughat-ul-Quran** and **Mo'jiza** in **Al-Zakhirat-ul-Ilmiyah.** Also see Usmani: **Islam—Mo'jizat**; Sulaiman Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. iii, pp. 1, ff. and Waliullah: **Hujjat-ullah-ul-Baligha,** Vol. i, pp. 45-54, 444-45.

them and who cannot perform them. In so far as miracles are concerned, the historian's task is to ascertain whether what is stated to be a miracle has actually happened or existed.[32] He can exclude myth from history but not miracle. We will proceed step by step and explain, with suitable illustrations from history, what is possible and what is impossible.[33] We begin with the *impossible*.

What is Impossible?

An attempt to incorporate into history what was 'impossible' and would not have happened is ably illustrated by Allama Ibn Khaldun in the *Muqaddima* or Prolegomena. According to Al-Masudi, he writes:

> Alexander was prevented by sea monsters from building the port of Alexandria. Thereupon he plunged to the bottom of the sea in a glass-case enclosed in a wooden sarcophagus, made a picture of the devilish monsters he saw there, cast metal statues in the shape of these beasts, and set them up on the walls of the building; no sooner had the monsters emerged from the sea and seen these statues than they fled away, and thus the city was completed. All this is related in a long tale full of impossible myths......[34]

What is Possible?

It must be noted, however, that not all that appears to be impossible is in fact always impossible. The story of the suspension of the idol of Somnath in the air without prop or support, for instance, would have found a high place only in the *list of impossibles* if Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin had not enquired and ascertained after the conquest that the canopy was

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32. Sulaiman Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. iii, pp. 76, ff.

33. More illustrations of the same type will be found in the Volume on **Problems and Pitfalls—Solutions and Safeguards.**

34. Ibn Khaldun quoted by Issawi in **An Arab Philosophy of History**, pp. 28-29. Also see Nadvi: *Sirat-un-Nabi*, Vol. iii, pp. 120, ff.

made of lodestone and the idol of iron, so that when placed in the middle, the idol was attracted by the lodestone with equal force on all sides. Al-Kazvini informs us that 'when two stones were removed from the top of the canopy, the idol swerved on one side, when more were taken away, it inclined still further until at last it rested on the ground.'[35] History has preserved the stories of similar other wonders of the world. Scientific research has established that the recent remarkable find in Egypt is in fact the well-preserved dead body of Pharaoh,[36] and thus confirmed the truth of the Quranic text:

> This day shall We save you in the body so that you may be a Sign to those who come after you. But verily many among mankind are heedless of Our Signs.[37]

This verse was addressed to Pharaoh when he found himself helpless in the waters of the Nile and declared that he was one of the Muslimin (those who had submitted to Allah in Islam).[38] Time has testified to the truth of what few, except the faithful, believed to be true. This has brought us to another important and interesting question—Quranic Concept of Miracles.

Quranic Concept.

The Holy Quran has used the word *Ayatullah* or Signs of God for miracles and stated: 'The signs are indeed with God.'[39] This means that God is the Source of Power and the Master of Miracles. The Quran has explained the miracles by constantly referring to the creation of the universe—the heavens and the earth, and all that is between them—, the movement of the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., the sailing of ships, the alternation of day and night, the

35. Elliot: **History of India As Told By Its Own Historians.**
36. Hasan Al-Azami: **Azad Misar,** p. 48.
37. **Al-Quran,** xi: 92. 38. **Ibid.** 39. **Ibid.,** vi: 109.

downpour of rain, etc. which constitute common signs or miracles; and the creation of Adam out of seed, the birth of Christ from one parent, the ascension of the Apostles to heavens, etc. which are exceptional or special signs or miracles. Referring to them, it says that they are self-evident in the hearts of those endowed with knowledge, and that they are clear to those who have understanding and wisdom, faith in and fear of their Lord.[40]

Kinds of Miracles.

It follows from the above discussion that miracles are of two kinds: (1) general or common, which come to our notice generally, commonly or frequently, and (2) special or exceptional, which occur in exceptional cases to meet exceptional situations or emergencies.

General.

The order of the universe (cosmos) the systematic movement of heavenly bodies on their orbits at measured speed and along prescribed routes, the well-regulated alternation of day and night, etc. are standing (permanent) miracles, which pre-suppose the presence of the Creator, Controller and Director, differently designated as Power, Presence, Providence, *Qudrat*, Allah, etc.[41] That is the Power that can do all its desires. It is not necessary that it should do at once all that it can do or do as we desire. It is, therefore, silly to pose such questions

40. **Ibid.**, ii: 210-20; x: 20; xiii: 7, 61, 65; xxix: 33, 49-50; xxx: 20, 27, 46; xxxi: 31; lv: 57-59; xiv: 3-6; Haqqani: **Al-Bayan**, pp. 180, ff., 606, ff.; Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. iii, pp. 6, ff., Usmani: **Islam—Mo'jizat**, pp. 8, ff. 81, ff. Also see **Burhan** and **Hujjat** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

41. **Ibid.**; Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 57, 105, 273, 278; Shibli: **Al-Kalam**, pp. 67, ff.

as: Can it create its own rival or equal? Can it destroy itself.? Can it create a power stronger than itself? If God creates His own rival, He will still be the Creator and His rival still under His control. If He creates a power stronger than Himself, the position will remain the same. If He destroys Himself, who will be the Creator and Sustainer?[42] The Creator can do rarely or occasionally what He can do daily, generally or frequently. He who created things out of nothing is the cause where no other cause is traceable.

Special.

Just as every constitution, to be sound and workable, must have exceptions, similarly the established laws of Nature have their own exceptions and they are called special signs or miracles. Exceptions are applied to exceptional cases and special miracles are performed in special cases. Just as exceptions are an essential part of every constitution in that they provide safeguards against its violation, similarly special signs or miracles are an integral part of Nature (or Divine Plan) in that they set things right when they go wrong. A general law of nature is its general habit, i. e. what occurs or takes place generally, and a special law of nature is its special habit, i. e. what occurs or takes place in exceptional situations and circumstances. General laws are applied to general cases and special laws are applied to special cases. This is consistent with Nature as well as with the Divine Plan. It is in no way in clash with the Quranic verse that the Laws of God know no change.[43] If, on the other hand, both general and special laws are applied to special cases severally, or if general

42. Logic has no room for such a lack of logic except as **Muhal-i-Aqli**—that which is logically impossible. See Shibli: **Al-Kalam**, p. 201, ff. and Haqqani: **Al-Bayan**, pp. 90-91.

43. **Al-Quran**, xxxiii: 62; xvii: 77.

laws are applied to special cases and special laws are applied to general cases, it will be inconsistent, illogical and against Nature. As special laws of Nature, applicable to special conditions, miracles are quite in conformity with Nature.[44]

Their Place in History.

There is a growing tendency to treat miracles as myths and to exclude them from history. It is stated that in this age of science miracles are disowned on general principles' and that 'romantic additions to the primitive tale lower its value as history.'[45] This is not so at all. Science is not opposed to miracles as defined and described in the above account. It has come with its own miracles and turned into possible what was regarded as impossible till recent past. Neither science nor its achievements, restricted to a limited number of scientists, can be excluded from history because others cannot understand them, but they must be supported by strong evidence. Miracles cannot be excluded from history if they are supported by adequate and authentic evidence in the same way as events and occurrences supported by such evidence cannot be excluded. They cannot be excluded from history merely because we, with our limited knowledge and powers, intuition and insight cannot understand, explain or account for them. Announcements and utterences, signs and symbols, events and occurrences, whether common, permanent and recurring or beyond the normal course of things or the general laws of nature but not consistent with its special laws, both transcending our knowledge and

44. Haqqani: **Al-Bayan**, p. 91; Usmani: **Islam—Mo'jizat**, pp. 81, ff.; Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. iii, 267, ff.; Waliullah: **Hujjatullah-ul-Baligha**, Vol. i, pp. 173, ff.

45. Shotwell: **Introduction to the History of History**, p. 90. Also see p. 138 of this Volume.

our mental grasp and therefore extraordinary and impracticable for us, must be assigned their proper place in history when established by adequate authentic evidence. They must be recorded as true facts if they have actually taken place and as fabrications if they have been trumped up and given currency by interested agencies. The historian has to verify and state facts in the light of adequate and authentic evidence. Miracles cannot be disowned merely because they are miracles.[46]

Magic or Sorcery.

Magic was blended with religion (Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism in India) in the same way as miracles were blended with religion (Judaism, Christianity and Islam). What is true of miracles is equally true of magic and acts of sorcery except that the latter emanate from evil sources and promote evil and that the former spring from the spiritual source and are conducive to good. Science has ushered a new era and we have yet to see whether its achievements take the form and perform the functions of miracles or magic.[47]

Theory of Evolution.

The time has now come when we should review and re-state the *theory of evolution* which is so closely connected with the Existence of the Creator, the Institution of Prophethood and the Exceptional Events called Miracles. For a proper and profitable study of this subject it is necessary to state that there are two different and distinct kinds of existence in the universe bearing on (1) the evolution or

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46. Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. iii, pp. 77. ff.

47. Iyengar: **Advanced History of India (Hindu Period)**, p. 103; Perry: **Realms of Value**, p. 465; Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. iii, pp. 91, ff.

gradual growth of a thing by itself according to and by dint of its own inherent capablities and qualities in congenial conditions, and (2) the instant creation of things, both according to the Will or Plan of the Creator. The difference should be borne in mind and the two should not be confused.

Illustration.

The creation (cosmos) can conveniently be classified as (1) Matter (2) Plants, (3) Animals, (4) Human Beings, and(5) Prophets in order of increasing importance.[48] Plant is superior to matter (stone, metal, etc.), because, besides being endowed with the quality to grow in weight and size, to move and assimilate food, it has soul and sex qualities which the latter does not possess. There are different kinds of plant, some big and some small, some weak and some strong, some short-lived and some enduring for long, some barren and some bearing fruit, etc. Their growth is conditioned by such factors as soil, water, heat, etc. Animal is a stage higher in rank than plant in the scheme of creation or evolution, because, besides growing like plant, it moves about, sees, smells, saves itself with the use of organs with which it is equipped. It is also endowed with instinct which guides it: Even an ass would not go into the river however much one may drag it in. Like plants, animals are also of different kinds and qualities: They differ in form and physique, stamina and strength, wisdom and valour, etc. Among birds, crow is noted for cleverness, pigeon for piety and falcon for ferocity. Among animals, horse is noted for nobility, fox for cunning, elephant for size, strength and stamina, and lion for valour and vigour. Man is a stage higher than animal. He is a rational animal, with reason as his distinguishing quality.

48. Hamid: **Ibn Maskawaih**, pp. 60, ff., 104, ff; Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 424-25.

His activities are guided by rationality and reason. He can judge between right and wrong, good and bad, useful and harmful, etc. He can discover and invent things. Animals cannot do all this. It is a matter of common experience that men are endowed with different qualities of head and heart. Generally, an educated man is wiser than the uneducated, but sometimes an *uneducated man* is wiser than the most highly educated. A genius is *born* and not *become*.[49]

Observations.

In the first place, it should be noted, that as a rule evolution is by class or within class and as an exception from class to class or interclass. That is to say that the components of each class or category grow within itself and do not pass from one class to another, higher or lower, except in rare cases, and in congenial conditions, which it is very difficult to observe. The plants have remained plants and they have not become animals during the period that has passed; animals have continued to be animals and human beings have continued to be human beings and have not changed classes. Had the evolution been interclass, the lowest classes would have disappeared or, at any rate, there would have been a notable dearth of their contents. The case is to the contrary and there is no evidence to contradict it.[50] Although the classification of the

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49. **Ibid**. Also see pp. 40-42 of this Volume. Mark the difference between the words **change** and **evolution** used above.

50. Rumi has also dealt with the transfer of spirit from one class to another in these verses:

آمده اول با قلیم جماد — وز جمادی در نباتی او فتاد
سالها اندر نباتی عمر کرد — وز جمادی یاد ناورد از نبرد
وز نباتی چون به حیوانی فتاد — نا مدش حال نباتی هیچ یاد

See **Rumi**: **Masnawi**, **Daftar** iv, p. 91. According to Rumi the movement is progressive.

creation or cosmos as such is fixed, there runs through it a thread of evolution in the form of soul or spirit, (life)—instinct, senses, sense-perception rationality, reason, intuition, insight and vision — all marking distinct stages in the evolution of spirit or spiritual growth in different forms. The evolution is both internal and external in this sense. Secondly, the evolution, confined to its own class, is limited. It is possible up to a prescribed point which cannot be passed. All the classes of the creation being finite, point to the existence of the Infinite. Thirdly, each class is distinguished from the other by its nature, character and other characteristics, the most important being the power or force, the spirit or soul which, always inherent and invisible, is the principal cause of preference or superiority over the other. Each class is marked by the growth of the body in which that soul or spirit is placed by the Creator and of life, instinct, sense-perception, intelligence, reason, intuition, insight and vision. The highest stage in the scheme of creation is represented by Prophethood. It should be noted that when the soul or spirit is united with the material body or physical existence, there is life and there is growth and when separated, there is nothing of the kind.[51] Fourthly, the components of each class at all stages of evolution obey and look to those at the next higher stage for guidance and support, the whole creation being subject to the control of the Creator in the following order: Matter—Plants—Animals—Human Beings—Prophets (God). Fifthly, some of the acts and ideas of a higher class are not intelligible to a lower class from the very nature of the case, but it does not necessarily follow that they are impossible or impracticable. What is the place of our inventions and discoveries in the Animal World? What do the backward people think of them even in the modern

51. Hirvi: **Mawaiz-i-Hasana**, pp. 224-25.

age? They are either miracles beyond their comprehension and control, and hence admired or myths, springing from imagination, and hence condemned. When we say that a man was in advance of his times or age, we do not deny his superiority, but acknowledge the inferiority of those among whom he found himself. Finally, the Creator Himself is the greatest Mystery or Miracle and the source of all miracles. To deny miracles means to deny His existence and authority.[52]

Rise of Religion.

The factors that contributed to the rise of religion have been stated summarily and it remains to add that the primitive man made no effort to inquire into the cause of the creation or the set-up of the universe in which he found himself. He was satisfied with the intuition or insight that the Power that creates also sustains the universe. 'The world,' he thought, 'must be the work of an inconceivably clever and powerful artist as implements of stone, weapons, clothes, and huts were the handiwork of clever men.' Having realized the Reality, no further evidence was required to prove the presence behind the phenomena and the power at the back of all existence—the Creator and Caretaker of the Universe.[53] What followed was worship—form of worship, method of worship, place of worship, time of worship, etc.

Dogmatism.

God was regarded as 'explanation of everything and a way out of every difficulty.' This formed the

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52. **Ibid.**, pp. 324, ff.; Hamid: **Ibn Maskawaih**, pp. 60, ff., 115, ff.; Abdul Hakim: **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, pp. 75-76. Also see Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 424-25.

53. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 50, ff.

foundation of dogmatism[54] and the basis of blind belief which have continued to our own times. The picture is well presented in the following passages:

> The theologians are really the most honest in their procedure. They resort to faith without any beating about the bush, and so avoid the necessity of convincing the critical understanding. They set up their assertions, and triumphantly cast a verse from the Bible in the teeth of any heretic who ventures to dispute them. Anyone godless enough to question the authority of the Bible is damned, and the most they can do is to pray for the salvation of his soul. The first and most distinguished of this class of philosophic historian is St. Augustine, who, in his principal work, De Civitate Dei, undertook to discover and relate the meaning of all human history.[55]

> Until a comparatively recent period European Christiandom has been so greatly convinced of the existence of its God as to ask no proof, or to accept with little critical acceptance certain ready-made proofs offered by the philosophers.[56]

Blind Belief.

As most of the early historians in the West were originally theologians, they began to see 'God in History' or 'the hand of God in history' and say 'Jesus Christ is the key to the history of the universe' and 'Christianity is the centre and key of all history.' History was regarded as 'divine power, which could not be falsified by human interpolations.' Religion was placed 'outside the reach of rational criticism' and one could hardly investigate seriously such assertions as those 'concerning the revolt of Satan against God.' Generally, the *Holy Bible* was 'the

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54. A dogma is a belief which is borne out neither by reason nor by empirical evidence or experience; and a religious dogma is 'a religious belief on religious authority.' The weakness of dogmatism lies in the fact that the authority by which the dogma is justified itself lacks justification. See Perry: **Realms of Value**, p. 488.

55. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, p. 51.

56. Perry: **Realms of Value**, p. 480.

sole source.[57] This is not the place to trace the history of this Sacred Scripture. Suffice it to say here that it has undergone so many changes that it now contains words which are attributed to 'Demon.'[58] Under the circumstances, we are assured, the moral effect of religion was 'non-existent', so much so that 'the evildoers thought nothing of selling their soul to the devil, or of securing God's indulgence by prayers and vows' and 'robbers and murderers to this day sometimes purchase candles and offerings before committing a crime, pray in church for its success, and give thanks for a lucky conclusion to the supernatural powers to which they imagine it to be due.'[59] We also know of robbers and thieves resorting to the use of amulets and prayers for averting danger and escaping arrest and imprisonment in good faith. The wicked thus resorted to religion for comfort and consolation at the sacrifice of soul in the same way as those addicted to intoxicants resort to intoxicating liquors at the cost of health. 'All this hocus-pocus,' says Nordau, 'has lightened dark hours for millions who believed in it, given them confidence and self-reliance, lifted heavy burdens from their souls, and reconciled them to the hardness of their lot.'[60] 'There was a time,' we are informed, 'when the Greeks believed that God himself had given them wine so that they might forget their pain. They looked upon intoxication as a sacred, divine ecstasy.'[61]

Worship.

The recognition of Reality as the Creator and Sustainer of the Universe found vent in various acts

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57. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 50, ff.

58. Thomas Paine: **The Age of Reason**, pp. 1, ff. and Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 176-78.

59. Nordau: **The Interpretation to History**, p. 218.

60. **Ibid.**, p. 222. 61. **Ibid**. p. 223, note.

and attitudes, which were standardized and strictly observed. These acts and attitudes were indications of regard and reverence, submission and surrender, veneration and worship. They differed in different cases, but their sense and significance must be carefully caught and clearly understood. When they were resorted to with the clear conviction that they were meant for God or gods, they amounted to *worship*, and when meant for objects or individuals other than God or gods, merely as marks of respect, they did not amount to *worship*.[62]

Nature-Worship.

The primitive man, who was overwhelmed by the forces of nature and the unforeseen in the form of earthquakes and epidemics, famines and floods, shortages and starvation, etc., can have no comparison with the modern man who, equipped with the latest means and methods of fighting such forces, is engaged in the conquest of nature. Finding himself helpless, he bowed before them more on account of fear than love. The moon, the sun, the stars, etc., became the objects of veneration and worship for him. He found in them the attributes of the All-creative Author and confused them with the original. A slight mistake or misunderstanding became the cause of colossal chaos which continued for a long time and is till in existence in certain places.[63]

Animal-Worship.

'Cowardice is much commoner than courage.'[64] The primitive man was so coward that he began to worship such terrific animals as elephants and such dangerous reptilia as snakes, apparently on account

62. See Haqqani: **Al-Bayan**, pp. 644-45.
63. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 185, ff., 250.
64. **Ibid.**, p. 168.

of fear. These animals were deified and their images, which were worshipped by the votaries, have survived in large numbers to testify to the beliefs of the laity.[65]

Man-Worship.

Man was marching along the path of progress and had scored some points in the match against the forces of nature. In the struggle for existence he had learnt many things to overcome his problems and to ensure his comforts. Instead of offering his devotion to inanimate objects and animals, he chose one of his own fellow-beings as his Master on account of his superiority in several spheres and transferred his allegiance to him. Man-worship took many forms: Master-worship, symbol-worship, saint-worship, hero-worship, ancestor-worship, father-worship, mother-worship, son-worship, husband-worship, etc.[66]

Woman-worship.

While some of the people of the past regarded the Lord of the Universe as Man and gave Him masculine attributes, others called Him the Mother of the Universe on account of His maternal care and kindness and gave Him faminine attributes."[67] Sir A. C. Lyall has significantly stated: 'The worship of woman plays a material part in all polytheistic systems; and the grosser forms have been caught up and transmuted into loftier conceptions of divine maternity.'[68] Thus the Divine Incarnations of *Shakti*

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65. **Ibid.** Also see **God, Religion and Worship** in **The Encyclopaedia Britannica, The New Educator Encyclopaedia** and **Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia.**

66. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, p. 250; Abhedananda: **The People of India,** pp. 50, ff.; Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 17, ff.

67. Abhedananda: **The People of India,** p. 70.

68. See **Great Religions of the World,** p. 88.

or Divine Energy in Hinduism are Kali, Durga, Tara, etc. and we come across pairs of male and female 'divinities' such as Vishnu and Shiva with their consorts, forming 'the pinnacles of the visible Brahmanic edifice.'[69] Woman was the centre of man's love and devotion and the main theme of artistic productions in the fields of painting and sculpture. The Hindus and the Greeks vied with one another in idolizing and worshipping women as *devis* and goddesses.[70]

Mythology.

It is believed by some on the basis of empirical experience that 'human mind abhors a vacuum of ignorance and fills it with the works of the imagination.'[71] Drawing upon their imagination, men invented stories (myths) for investing their gods and goddesses with miraculous powers and glorifying them with grandiose superlatives. The result was the rise and growth of mythology, which, in course of time, engrafted itself on and became part and parcel of the religions they related to.[72]

Higher Religions.

Having defined and described *religion* and its soul or spirit, we are now in a position to present what are regarded as the 'great' and 'higher' religions of the world, which have co-existed side by side and which have influenced the course and contents of human history. They are Brahmanism (a survival of Vedism), Zoroastrianism, Mahayana form of Buddhism,

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69. **Ibid.**, Abhedananda: **The People of India**, p. 70.

70. This is evident from the overflowing output of the Hindu and Greek Schools of Art exhibited in the museums of the East and the West.

71. Perry: **Realms of Value**, p. 491.

72. See **Mythology** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica**. **The New Educator Encyclopaedia** and **Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia**.

Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism. After a close and comparative study of religions, an expert has stated: 'Higher Religions have developed on a pre-existing basis, in response to an impulse of the religious spirit seeking better self-expression.'[73]

Brahmanism.

The general character of the Indian Religion in which Brahman had the most dominant role is that 'it is unlimited and comprehensive up to the point of confusion.' It is described as 'a boundless sea of divine beliefs and practices'—a faith which fosters 'the worship of innumerable gods by an infinite variety of of rites' and which 'permits every doctrine to be taught, every kind of mystery to be imagined, and every sort of theory to be held as to the inner nature and visible operation of the divine power.'[74] Polytheism is accounted to be 'the key-stone' of its fabric in that it 'accepts and even encourages the rudest forms of idolatry.'[75] Professor Max Muller summed up the religious situation in India in one sentence: 'No phase of religion from the coarsest superstition to the most sublime enlightenment, is unrepresented in that country.'[76] Swami Abhedananda considered it the most commendable quality and felt justified in calling the Indian System 'universal religion' instead of *Hinduism* and *Brahmanism*.[77] In that religion the top-ranking deities 'from whom all power proceeds and in whom the principal energies and the fundamental laws of nature are personified', it is said, are Brahma the

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73. See **Religion** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica, The New Educator Encyclopaedia**, **The Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia, Great Religions of the World, Realms of Value**.

74. **Great Religions of the World**, p. 83. 75. **Ibid**., p. 85.

76. Quoted by Abhedananda in **The People of India**, p. 52.

77. **Ibid.**, pp. 52, ff., Hunter: **The Indian Empire**, pp. 191, ff.; Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, Introduction.

creator, Vishnu the preserver and Shiva the destroyer who together constitute what is called 'the great Brahmanic Trinity,'[78] adored with countless rites and sacrifices. These dieties had their incarnations in Rama, Krishna and other personalities. Shiva is represented by Lingam or phallus as an emblem of creative force.[79]

Zoroastrianism.

This is the religion founded by Zoroaster, a Bactrian or Median philosopher or reformer. The Zend Avesta is its sacred scripture. Herodotus informs us that the followers of this faith 'had no statues, no temples, no altars,' and that they regarded such things as ridiculous. He adds: "They also worship the sun, moon and earth, fire, water and winds, which are their only original deities.'[80] According to Zoroaster, 'the world is the work of two hostile principles, Spenta-Maynu, the good principle, and Angra-Maynu, the evil principle, both serving under one God—the first being the author of whatever is bright and shining, good and useful; the second of what is dark and noxious. It is believed that the conflict between the two will end in the triumph of truth.[81] According to one scholar, the Mazdian religion possessed a 'moral systematized and founded upon philosophic principles', and according to another, its moral philosophy moves 'in the triad of thought, word and deed.'[82] The modern Parsees hold *fire* in honour verging on veneration and even worship. Bishop Meurin, who holds idolatry

78. **Great Religions of the World,** pp. 86-87.

79. **Abhedananda: The People of India,** p. 60. Also see Spengler: **The Decline of the West,** Vol. i, pp. 136, 267, 320.

80. Herodotus: **The Histories,** p. 68.

81. **Great Religions of the World,** p. 127.

82. **Ibid.,** pp. 127-28.

as 'the most heinous of all crimes,' denies that 'the Parsi fire-worship is idolatry.' According to him, 'fire and sun are not worshipped as God.'[83] That the Zoroastrians regard *fire* in all forms as a symbol of divinity admits of no doubt.

Judaism.

This is a monotheistic faith, which enjoins belief in 'One Holy and Invisible God' who is 'universal, immanent and transcendant,' and who sent the Torah (Direction: Instruction) as the Law or Way of Life. Its followers, the Jews, regard themselves as the 'Chosen People', exclusively entitled to the favours of God. They await the arrival of a Divine Agent or Deliverer, who would set up 'a great empire of God.' Who that Messiah would be and when he would come is not known. The Jews decline to accept the doctrines of Trinity, Incarnation and Atonement, the principal pillars of Christianity, and say that neither Jesus Christ nor Muhammad Mustafa was the Promised Prophet.[84]

Christianity.

Whatever their differences, it is stated, 'all Christians believe in One God, Creator and Father; Jesus Christ as God Incarnate (become man) who sacrificed himself in atonement for man's sin, rose from the dead and returned to God; and in God's Holy Spirit who gives man a new quality of life.'[85]

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83. **Ibid.**, p. 128. See **Zoroastrianism** in the **Encyclopaedia Britannica, Great Religions of the World, The New Educator Encyclopaedia, Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia**. Also see **Religion**. **Ibid.**

84. See **Judaism** in the **Encyclopaedia, Britannica The New Educator Encyclopaedia, Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia, Great Religions of the World**. Also see **Religion. Ibid.**

85. See Christianity in **The New Educator Encyclopaedia**.

Summed up in this small sentence are the three cardinal doctrines of Christianity—Trinity, Incarnation and Atonement. Christianity took over from its predecessor (Judaism) its sacred scripture now known as Old Testament, which together with the New Testament constitutes the *Holy Bible*. The Apostles regarded their Master as more than a Prophet—the Son of God, although in the Book itself Jesus Christ calls himself 'the son of man.' It is important to note that 'Jesus refused altogether the role of political leader and declared that his kingdom was a spiritual kingdom.'[86]

Mahayana.

Buddhism started as a system or a philosophy, which will be considered at its proper place. Later Buddhists, who were mainly drawn from Hinduism began to worship Buddha as God Incarnate either in response to the spiritual urge ingrained in their nature or impelled by the age-long and deep-seated practice of worshipping gods, or both. The result was the rise of a new religion—Mahayana, as against the Hinayana, which recognized no God.[87]

Islam.

Islam stands for peace and signifies surrender or submission to the Will of God. It enjoins belief in one God (Allah) and all His Prophets, Hazrat Muhammad being the last of the line. In other words, it recognizes all right religions and it is in fact their fullest representative. It has provided a complete code in the form of the Quran for the guidance

86. See **Religion** and **Christianity** in The **Encyclopaedia Britannica, The New Educator Encyclopaedia, Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia, Great Religions of the World, The Age of Reason, and An Historian's Approach to Religion.**

87. See **Mahayana, Ibid., The Religions of India.**

of humanity for all times to come. It is faith, state and culture rolled into one. The Holy Quran is the best specimen of fully preserved original text: Centuries have passed, but it has remained intact without undergoing the slightest change since its compilation soon after the Holy Prophet. The Islamic God is Allah, Who is all-creative, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-wise, etc. He is eternal, impersonal and omnipresent. He has created the universe out of nothing, part of the creation being instant (based on *Amr* or command) and part evolutionary, growing by stages. He alone is entitled to worship. To associate anyone or anything with Him in this respect is *shirk* or negation of faith. Hence Islam has denounced idolatry as the worst of all crimes. It has enjoined tolerance by declaring that there is no compulsion in religion. As a religion, it deals with the relation or connection between the Creator and the Creation, as a State it lays over-all emphasis on the *Government of God* and as a Culture it provides a complete code for Practical Morality.[88]

Sikhism.

Baba Nanak, the founder of this faith, took upon himself the task of breaking 'the chain which Brahmanism had fastened round the feet and hands of every Hindu.' The fruit of his efforts was Sikhism which marked a compromise between Hinduism and Islam. Side by side with the emphasis on monotheism, Nanak did not deny 'the existence of the lower deities of the Hindu mythology.' He denounced idolatry, vain ceremonies and austerities and preached pure and pious life. He claimed to be a Prophet, but

88. See **Al-Quran,** which is now available in so many languages of the world. The writer has contributed a separate volume on **Islam—The Faith, The State and The Culture. Also** see Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam,** Introduction, pp. 143, ff.

neither inspired nor endowed with miraculous powers. According to Swami Abhedananda, 'he is regarded to-day by his disciples and followers as the manifestation of Divinity' and the Adi Granth, containing his 'sayings and teachings', is worshipped as 'the word of God.'[89]

Philosophies.

Some of the people did not believe in the Power that creates and sustains the universe or the Presence behind the phenomena; or at any rate, they were silent about it. Nevertheless, they were surrounded by the same situation and were subject to the same sort of sufferings and sorrows and were, therefore, in search of salvation like all others. They believed in practical morality and devotion to duty. The two most prominent exponents of such a system or philosophy were Buddha and Confucius, who had much in common in personal character and practical code, but whose followers formed two different orders. The influence they exerted as ideologies was so similar to that of religion that they are counted among universal religions and we cannot exclude them from the compass of the present chapter.[90]

Buddhism.

Buddha believed exclusively in 'practical morality' and had nothing to do with God or gods of any kind or class. His disciples did everything in their power to commemorate his life and work, but they did not worship him: Whenever they wanted to indicate his presence on a particular occasion, they did so by

89. Abhedananda: **The People of India,** p. 139. See also **Sikhism** in **The Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Religions of India. Great Religions of the World.** Also see **Adi Granth.**

90. See **Buddha** and **Confucius** in **The Encyclopaedia Britannica; The New Educator Encyclopaedia.**

means of such symbols as foot-prints, etc. This form of Buddhism was redesignated as *Hinayana* as against the later or *Mahayana* form of Buddhism, whose followers felt the absence of the soul in the system and filled the spiritual vacuum by deifying their Master and worshipping him as a god in order to satisfy the spiritual urge ingrained in their nature.[91] The result was the multiplication of Buddha's statues and Buddha-worship. With all its beauties, Buddhism was a body without soul, for Buddha discarded Divinity and laid stress on thoughts, words and deeds. It has left unsolved the problem of the ultimate origin of the cosmos, i.e. perfect order and harmony in the composition and component parts of the universe. It takes 'as its own ultimate fact' the existence of the material world and all that is contained therein—human beings, animals, plants, minerals, etc. It does not go back to the Ultimate Reality. It holds that everything is subject to the law of cause and effect or causation, but it does not trace or go back to the ultimate cause. It states that everything is subject to the law of change and that everything is constantly changing, but it does not attempt or care to account for or explain the change itself. It does present a panoramic picture of the universe, its component parts and contents, but it rules out altogether the existence of the Creator and Controller of the universe.[92] Whether what was discarded by Buddha, viz. deity could form part of the faith he founded and whether he, if he were to come again, would agree to the introduction of such an innova-

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91. Jaffar: **Peshawar: Past and Present,** and Paper on **Buddhism** read at the last Buddha Jayanti Celebrations at Peshawar.

92. See **Buddhism** in **The Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Religions of India, Great Religions of the World, An Historian's Approach to Religion;** and **India: Past and Present.**

tion in his system is a question that deserves serious consideration.

Buddhism as part Hinduism.

A number of Hindu historians have held that neither Buddhism nor Jainism was a new religion, nor even the protestant reformation of Hinduism. According to them, the religious life of the people, except those who were inclined towards asceticism, was not affected by those movements. Gods were worshipped, caste rules were observed and transmigration of souls was believed in. Neither Buddha nor Mahavira denounced any of these practices. According to a Hindu historian, if the term 'Hindu' could be applied to the people, all of them were Hindus and their Hinduism was not at all disturbed by them. Professor Weber voiced the same view when he said that 'Buddha's teaching contains in itself nothing new' and that it was 'entirely identical with corresponding Brahmanical doctrine' except that Buddha proclaimed to the people at large what Brahmans communicated to the chosen few in the hermitages specially set up for the purpose, 'still recognizing the existing caste system' and 'opening up to all men the prospect of an emancipation from the trammels of their birth.'[93]

Confucianism.

Like the Hinayana form of Buddhism, Confucianism does not even permit any effigy or likeness of Confucius to be set up in any place of worship. It lays over-all emphasis on ethical code and virtue for its own sake. 'With all its merits,' it is stated, 'Confucianism is seriously wanting in attractiveness to the masses, who really know very little about it. It is a

93. Iyengar: **Advanced History of India (Hindu Period)** pp. 134-35. Dutt: **India: Past and Present,** pp. 22, ff.

system for the philosopher in his study, not for the peasant at the plough tail. The masses who respect learning and authority above all things, accept Confucianism as the criterion of a perfect life. They daily perform the ceremonies of ancestral worship in all loyalty of heart, and then go off and satisfy other cravings by the practice of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism and Taoism which have so much more to offer by way of reward.'[94]

Deflection.

As Religion was always accompained by 'emotional excitement' and over-clouded by 'excesses , the dividing line between ideas and ideals, spiritual love and carnal lust disappeared. The results were invariably disastrous. The ceremonies devoted to the worship of God began to claim greater attention and devotion than God Himself. Ritualism and ecclesiasticism overclouded divinity itself and the authority of God, justified by so many superlatives, was abused by the so called divines invested with such authority. Ill-founded religious belief, misguided practice, and unrestrained excitement frequently deflected the will from the good and the intellect from the truth. In doing so, religion defeated its own purpose.[95]

Religious Persecution.

Religious persecution was the direct result of religious intolerance and sectarian bigotry. Moved by heated passions, unwarranted by right religion, not a few followers of every faith endeavoured 'to dominate, convert or destroy its rivals' by force. Such persecution produced consequences to the contrary. It created more heresies than it destroyed, it enforced

94. See **Religion** and **Confucianism** in **The Encyclopaedia Britannica** and **Great Religions of the World**.

95. Perry: **Realms of Value,** pp. 470-73.

outward obedience, but never implied change of hearts. The descendants of the original unwilling converts were, however, different from their forefathers: They had better education, better background and better outlook. Those who had got fed up with their own faiths and given them up in disgust, displayed great devotion for their new and greater abhorence for the deserted faiths. The so called wars of religion were mostly stirred up by them and they had the greatest share in the storms that followed.[96]

Influence of Religion.

As to the nature and extent of influence which religion has exercised on the pugnacity or ferocity of man, scholarly opinion is divided. According to some scholars, it has toned down his tenacity and exercised a healthy restraint on it; according to others it has excited human passions and added fuel to the fire. Those who subscribe to the latter view refer to the innumerable wars fought in the name of religion and the general massacres that followed.[97] When one gleans through the copious accounts of the so-called wars of religion, one receives a rude shock and feels disgusted with religion. But the version being one-sided, the verdict is bound to be partial. Those who hold and uphold the other view emphatically assert that the religion that enjoins or even allows unprovoked or aggressive wars is no religion in the right sense of the word, and none of the higher religions has even indirectly allowed such a course. They attribute all such wars to the abuse of religion by self-seekers on the one hand and the over-flow of long pent-up grievances which the new converts carried against the champions of their former faiths on the other. The sins of irreligion, they assert, should

96. **Ibid.**, pp. 570, 474.

97. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 217, 222.

not be counted as sins of religion. If the abuse of knowledge, they conclude, cannot furnish a cogent cause for condemning knowledge, the abuse of religion too cannot form a good ground for giving up religion.[98]

'Invention of Religion.'

Occasionally it has been stated that *religion* was invented by self-seekers for personal aggrandisement. Its origin is attributed to fraud and its progress and perpetuation to chicanery.[99] If religion was an *invention* to meet worldly needs, mythology must be admitted and admired as an asset. It is also believed by some that it was designed by the pious for the maintenance of peace and order in the world—that it was the natural and inevitable outcome of the conflict between human action and physical phenomena. The following evidence is cited in support of the views stated here:

> The invention of religion was the simplest and least troublesome way of providing an answer to the questions that tortured him (man), protection against death, a less humiliating position in the universe, a support against the cruelty of nature, a link with its terrifying powers. The need which gave birth to religion still exists, and will exist, in all probability, as long as men think and feel.[100]

> There is a tendency to trace the causes of the origin and formation of religion in the character of man and his environment —his 'thinking, imagining and believing faculties', and the physical phenomena surrounding him. 'It also draws upon emotional resources, such as love and fear.'[101]

The first of the two views is correct only to the extent that *religion* has been exploited and abused;

98. See page 27 of this Volume. What is true of **history** is equally true of religion.

99. Nordau: **The Interpretation of History**, pp. 214-17.

100. **Ibid.**, p. 224. 101. Perry: **Realms of Value**, p. 467.

but, regarded as a general truth—that all religion is invention and has no roots in reality—, it betrays utter ignorance of human nature and total lack of empirical experience and intuitive insight. It is belied by the evidence we have already adduced.[102] The invention of religion, in a way, illustrates the importance of the institution and the 'incentive' it has afforded for 'invention' shows how much spiritual urge ingrained in human nature has weighed with the people. The 'impostors' also provide unmistakable evidence in support of the existence of the real in the same way as copies point to the presence of their originals. The second view is quite correct, but it is in no way in clash with the Divine Plan. The rise of religion, prophets and preachers as historical phenomena, as the products of certain factors and forces, as the outcome of cause and effect is quite in conformity with the Divine Plan, which follows an ideal course of causation. Nature never makes jumps—even miracles are subject to the same course, as we have already seen in its proper place—and the rise of religion is no exception to the general and special laws.[103]

Religion and State.

There has always been a close connection between Religion and State, either direct or indirect or both. In theory, the former was recognized as the High Command or the highest authority and the latter as the Executive subordinate thereto, but in actual practice and with rare exceptions the latter was in the saddle and the former harnessed thereto. In one case the State was secularized in order to eliminate the check exercised by religion and in another case the Church was exploited and employed in the interests

102. See pp. 139-41, 241, ff. Also see Chapters IX-XI.

103. Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. iii, pp. 42, ff.; Haqqani: **Al-Bayan**, pp. 180, ff., 606; Shibli: **Al-Kalam**, pp. 7,ff.

of the State. Since men imagined God as king, and the king as the 'Shadow of God,' the 'king could play the God.' The Church was mainained by the State as a public institution next only to the Army. Influential religious heads were kept in the pay and political thinkers were not behind the religious scholars in building up theories in support of the State. There is, therefore, ample force in the statement that 'No State in historical times has ever anywhere failed to avail itself of the religious feeling and faith to strengthen and support its power.' The people being religious-minded and religious support being indispensable, 'the government could not afford to allow religion to be outside its control.' In other words, religion was respected for politicai reasons. 'The faith of the people must be maintained,' was tantamount to 'The submission of the people to rulers, and their readiness to pay dues and taxes, must be maintained.'[104] Evidence is not wanting to show that religious law was violated at pleasure and 'the high-handed use of the religious law by the ruler' was defended on the pretence of 'policy.'[105]

Machiavelli.

Our account of the invention and abuse of religion will be woefully wanting without a notice—however brief it may be — of Machiavelli and *The Prince*. Reviewing P. Villara's book *Life and Times of Niccolo Machiavelli*, as edited by L. A. Burd, Bishop Creighton of London observed: 'Divines, statesmen, philosophers and historians of every country, of every age and of every school of thought are shown to have allowed exceptions to the paramount authority of the moral laws. They have *all*, in some form or the other, admitted Machiavelli's fundamental proposition that 'extraordinary objects

104. Nordau: **The Interpretatiou of History**, pp. 211-12.
105. See page 150 of this Volume.

cannot be accomplished under ordinary rules.' While the editor 'brings before his readers Italy as it was when Machiavelli wrote, he shows them the circumstances and conditions amidst which the *Principe* came into existence, he points out that much subsequent criticism went astray, because it regarded the book as abstract treatise, enforcing lessons of universal application,'—the reviewer remarks that 'Machiavelli idealizes the type of character which was most effective in contemporary politics; and he lived in an age when policies were embodied in individuals, not in institutions.'[106] While a good deal depends upon the meaning and interpretation of such words and phrases as *moral laws*, *extraordinary objects*, *ordinary rules*, which vary with varying concepts, Creighton's statement regarding 'exceptions to the paramount authority of the moral laws' is so sweeping that it cannot stand sober criticism in the face of irrefutable evidence in support of the defence of that 'paramount authority' at all costs. It is impossible to reconcile conflicting concepts of morality on principle and we have nothing to say about the controversy except that the events of that age had found a fit historian in Machiavelli according to the concepts then current and that presentation of historical facts is one thing and idealization of character quite another.[107]

Wahi: Revelation.

Closely connected with the question of *Religion* is that of *Wahi* and *Revelation*. *Wahi* means that which is communicated by one to another secretly or imperceptibly. Its equivalent, equally freely used in the Holy Quran, is *Tanzil*, which means descension by stages. God communicated His Message to the Prophets by various methods: Trees and stones used to speak, bells used to ring and transmit sound which

106. Creighton: **Historical Essays and Reviews**, pp. 335-40.
107. In this connection see pages 180-81 of this Volume.

others could not hear, the Holy Spirit used to convey the message, etc. The word *Tanzil* has been used to convey the impression that the Holy Quran descended upon the Prophet gradually in well-regulated stages. *Wahi* is also regarded by some as the highest form or phase of *Ilqa* and *Ilham*, meaning intuition and insight, with the exception that it was reserved mainly for the Prophets. The contents of *Wahi* did include things which were new and were not known to the people and in this sense *Wahi* may rightly be regarded as revelation, but the contents also included things which were known to the people and in this sense the use of the word revelation as its translation will be wrong.[108] Revelation means that which is revealed—that which was known only to God and to no one else. It is argued that a revelation is authentic only for the person who professes to have received it and not for those to whom it is communicated. For the latter it is no more than mere hearsay or report open to verification.[109] The difference between *Wahi* and Revelation is evident and should not be missed. It should also be noted that no one can have personal knowledge and experience of all that has happened and that no one can do without history most of which consists of what others have experienced and handed down either orally or in writing.

Conclusion.

Notwithstanding the most unsparing onslaught of its enemies against it, *Religion* has survived as a spiritual force and become the last refuge for mankind.[110] The views that 'Religion is of no practical

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108. Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. vi, pp. 47, ff.; Jaffar: **Maqam-i-Nabuwat; Al-Quran**, vii: 203, liii: 3-4. See **Wahi** and **Tanzil** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

109. Thomas Paine: **The Age of Reason**, pp. 1, ff.

110. See Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 236, 249; Perry: **Realms of Value**, pp. 68-70, 89-92.

importance, and that therefore it does not matter what religion our neighbours profess', that 'Religion is an illusion, and that therefore it is idle to inquire whether this or that form of Religion is true or false or right or wrong' are losing ground. Religious belief is regarded as a dire necessity, because the believer is spared the suspense of indecision and assured the tranquility and peace of mind which the unbeliever envies, because 'irreligion implies fundamental sense of hopelessness, defeatism and frustration'—a declaration of bankruptcy. Science and logic have shattered the cobwebs but not the contents of religion; they have affected the accretions but not the essence; they have scattered the clouds and the covering but not the sun and its splendour; they have deflected those of blind belief and nodding knowledge but not those of firm faith and wide vision; they have exposed the impostors and paved the way for the righteous and the right religion to take their proper place in the scheme of creation. The top-ranking scientists and philosphers have begun to recognize the existence of 'the presence behind the phenomena' and 'the power at the back of all things'—the existence of the Creator and His Unity.[111] Even the most orthodox idolaters have begun to declare that they resort to idols not as God but as aids to the concentration of thought and the fortification of faith.[112] The physical unification of the world has brightened the prospects of a Universal State, a Universal Brotherhood and a Universal Religion. What Islam has contributed to all this can be gleaned through the account that has preceded and what more it can do will be evident from the the account that will follow. What is needed is an impartial study of the Holy Quran and the recognition of right religion.

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111. See **Religion in The Junior Oxford Encyclopaedia** and Toynbee's **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 278, 280.

112. See Abhedananda: **The People of India**, p. 54.

Chapter IX

ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

BEARING ON HISTORY

Introductory.

We had stated in the Introduction that we would take up the topic of Islamic Contribution to History and show what it is after dealing with the principal schools of historical thought in the East and the West. We have covered a fairly extensive field and surveyed the situation as far as possible within the prescribed limits. The stage has now come when we must fulfil the promise. No apology seems to be necessary for the brevity enforced in the present chapter—brevity which runs through the whole volume. We have cited evidence in support of the view that in this age of reason and science '*religion*' is being replaced by recreative arts, 'miracles' are being disowned on general principles and the 'spiritual vacuum' is lengthening and widening in scope.[1] Reason and criticism' are counted among the 'bulworks of Western Civilization,' which every faith that feels fit to remain in the field must be prepared to face.[2] We have shown that neither science nor philosophy can claim finality. The fallacies of philosophy and the shortcomings of science are too patent to beggar proof.[3] While philosophers have differed violently in their views and verdicts, scientists have had to revise and re-state their thoughts and theories time and again without attaining perfection and precision.

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1. See pp. 138, ff. and 237, ff. of this Volume.
2. Geyl: **Use and Abuse of History**, p. 72.
3. See Perry: **Realms of Value**, p. 490.

There is, therefore, no justification whatsoever in judging Islamic or any other Ideology by the standards of philosophy and science found to be faulty, specially when it is proved fit, infallible and final in every respect. It is frequently alleged, without investigating and ascertaining the truth, that the Holy Quran contains no germs of historical criticism.[4] A work is best interpreted and explained by its author or by those specially instructed and entrusted with the task by him. To interpret the Quran correctly is the concern of its Author and *Ahl-az-Zikr* also called *Rasikhuna fil ilm* or those thoroughly grounded in knowledge.[5] Without attempting its interpretation and explanation with reference to the context and hazarding contentious conclusions we will cite simple evidence from the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* which has inspired historians and leave it to the reader to form his own opinion after reading this chapter and the next and weighing and viewing them against the background already presented in the preceding account.

Sources of Knowledge.

Al-Quran and *Al-Hadis* have assigned the highest place to *Ilm* or knowledge in the list of divine attributes as well as human achievements and actively encouraged its acquisition and dissemination.[6] According to them, the principal sources of knowledge or information are: (1) *Wahi* or revelation, which has various forms and features, (2) *Ilm-ul-Ladunni* or inner experience—intuition, insight, vision, etc., (3) facts found by intellectual method, reasoning and criticism, (4) outer experience—nature and physical phenomena,

4. See **The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam by Iqbal**, pp. 132, ff. (1934).

5. **Al-Quran**, iii: 7; xvi: 43; xxi: 7.

6. **Ibid.**, xxxi; 34; Jaffar: **Education in Muslim India**, pp. 1, ff., **Islamic Education** in the **Shafi-Presentation Volume**.

and (5) accumulated human experience—record of the past, both oral and written.[7] Of these five, the first was reserved for the select few and the remaining four were shared by all human beings according to their inherent qualities and acquired qualifications.[8] As human experience, history has preserved only so much of knowledge as has dawned on mankind and recorded in one form or the other and not knowledge as a whole in the widest sense of the word. Humanity has yet to discover and learn a lot. In other words, our knowledge (history) is imperfect and is bound to remain so in spite of all additions.

Foundations of History.

The concept of a creative, collective and continuous movement in time and space, dealing with the activities of man—*Ashraf-ul-Makhluqat* or the best of creation—in relation to the Creator and the rest of Creation, including his fellow-beings, is clearly conveyed by the following verses:

Lo! Your Lord is Allah Who created the heavens and the earth in six days.[9]

And He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in six days.[10]

And He it is Who created the heavens and the earth and all that is between them in six days.[11]

And verily We created the heavens and the earth and all that is between them in six days.[12]

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7. Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 457, ff., Haqqani: **Al-Bayan**, pp. 1, ff.

8. **Ibid.** For sources of human knowledge see Sulaiman Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. iv, pp. 55, ff.

9. **Al-Quran,** vii: 54.

10. **Ibid.**, xli: 7, lvii: 4.

11. **Ibid.,** xix: 59.

12. **Ibid.,** l: 38.

According to these verses Allah created the universe—the heavens and the earth and all that is between them—in six days. This clearly encompasses, besides the Creator and the Creation, two other fundamentals, viz. Time and Space. Therefore, the four fundamentals of history from the Quranic or Islamic point of view are (1) Creator, (2) Creation, (3) Time, and (4) Space, but for which there could be no history. With regard to the duration of a Day of Allah, we have the following evidence:

> Lo! a day with Allah is as a thousand years of what you reckon.[13]

> He directs the ordinance from the heaven unto the earth; then it ascends unto Him in a day, the duration of which is a thousand years of what you reckon.[14]

> The angels and the spirit ascend unto Him in a day, whereof the span is fifty thousand years.[15]

In these verses the word *days* is used in the sense of absolute period of time, the duration whereof is indicated in terms of days known to us so that we may understand their meaning. The heavens and the earth and all that is between them being in the process of creation or in the evolutionary stages and there being no sky and no sun, there could be no days and no nights of the type we have for measuring the length of time. The verses are metaphorical and the object seems to be to convey an idea as to the span of time taken by the evolution of the universe—the heavens and the earth and all that is between them—in one case and the ascent of the angels and the spirit unto Him in the other. The difference between the duration of a Day of Allah in one case and that of a

13. **Ibid.**, xxii: 47. 14. **Ibid.**, xxxii: 5. 15. **Ibid.**, lxx: 4.

Day of Allah in the other is also due to the fact that the duration of a day and a night is different at different times and in different places in this world.[16] It is also pointed out by some that in one case the day refers to the *Rabi* System and in the other to the *Ilahi* System and stated that the duration of a day according to the former system is greater than that of a day according to the latter.[17] Whatever the differences as to the duration of a Day of Allah, the fact remains that the evolution of the universe was spread over a period of time.

Historical Expressions.

Under the influence of Islam Arabic literature has employed several synonyms for indicating and expressing history, viz. (1) *Tarikh*, which means a day or date, an era or epoch, a daily account or a book of annals and hence a chronicle or history.[18] (2) *Asr*, which means world as well as period of history as in *Asr-ul-Jadid*, i. e. Modern World and Modern Age and also late afternoon;[19] (3) *Ayyam* (plural of *yaum*) which means days and times or age and era as in *Ayyam-un-Nas* or the History of the People, *Ayyam-ul-Jahiliyah* or the Age of Ignorance and *Ayyam-ul-Arab*, i. e. the Arab Period or the History of the Arabs;[20] (4) *Daur* (plural *Adwar*), which means world as well as age as in *Daur-ul-Jadid*, i. e. Modern World as well as Modern Times;[21] (5) *Dahr*

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16. Yusuf Ali: **The Holy Quran: Text, Translation and Commentary,** notes 3632, 3634, 56, 78.

17. Days stand for periods of time. The difference noted here will be dealt with in its proper place in another volume.

18. See pp. 3, 55, 146, ff. of this volume.

19. **Al-Quran,** cii: 1. See **Asr in the Lughat-ul-Quran.**

20. **Al-Quran,** iii: 140; xiv: 5. Also see **Yaum** and **Ayyam** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran.**

21. See **Daur** (دور) in **Al-Qamus** and **Muhit-ul-Muhit.**

which means world as well as period of time;[22] and (6) *Alamin* (plural of *alam*), which means worlds as well as ages or times as in *Rabb-ul-Alamin* and *Rahmat-al-lil-Alamin.*[23] It is clear that the last five words are used to express world or worlds and days or times and ages or eras and hence Space and Time. The Holy Quran has referred to history as *days* and as *Days of God.* For instance:

> Remind them (people) of the Days of God.[24]

> These are only days (good and bad) which We cause to follow one another for mankind.[25]

In these verses the *days* refer to historical phenomena, i. e. events and occurrences, fortunes and misfortunes, etc. which constitute what is called *history*. Elsewhere, the Holy Quran has referred to particular events by using the same word, e. g. *Yaum-ul-Qayamat*, *Yaum-ul-Hisab*, *Yaum-ul-Furqan*, etc. It has devoted a full *Surah* to the Day of Judgment and called it *Al-Waqiya—The Event.*[26] Personal as well as national and international history has days or times which are rendered important by the events that take place on them and are commemorated as Red-Letter-Days. They are used to denote history and are remembered and celebrated for that reason. In fact no historical phenomena can ever be understood and appreciated without reference to its place in time. According to the Holy Quran, the movements of the

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22. **Al-Quran,** lxxvi: 1. See **Dahr** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran, Muhit-ul-Muhit**, **Al-Qamus**, etc.

23. **Al-Quran**, vii: 32, xxix: 64, xlvii: 36, lvii: 20, etc. Also see **Alam and Alamin** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**, **Muhit-ul-Muhit**, and **Al-Qamus**.

24. **Al-Quran**, xiv: 5. See **Yaum and Ayyam-ullah** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

25. **Al-Quran**, iii: 140.

26. **Ibid.**, iii: 185, lvi.

sun and the moon provide days and months and supply chronology, which forms the foundation of history.[27]

Universal Activity.

No reader of the Holy Quran can ever miss the idea of universal activity or change contained in the verses which deal with life and death, rise and fall, alternation of day and night, movement of the sun, the moon and the stars, the rise of clouds and the downpour of rain, the creation or evolution of the heavens and the earth and all that is between them. 'Everyday in (new) Splendour doth He (shine)' is a clear reference to constant change or universal activity. In fact the Holy Quran refers to this world as a passing phase. It states: 'All that is on the earth will perish.'[28]

Man's Role.

Man occupies the highest place in the scheme of creation. Created out of the goodliest order, according to the Holy Quran, he is called the best of creation, as already noted. He is the vice-regent of God on the earth. The angels were made to bow to him and one who declined to do so (Iblis) was declared a rebel, turned out and condemned by God. He is invited to conquer nature and harness its forces to his service.[29] His is the most active and important role in the history of the universe.

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27. See **Al-Quran,** ii: 189, x: 5, ff. Marc Bloch quotes the Arab proverb 'Men resemble their times more than they do their fathers' and says 'Disregard of this Oriental wisdom has sometimes brought discredit to the study of the past. **The Historian's Craft,** p. 35.

28. **Al-Quran,** xxxix: 5: lv: 26, 29, lvii: 20; lxxvi: 27.

29. **Ibid.,** ii: 30.34; vi: 165; xcv: 4. Also see **Sakhkhar** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

Woman's Place.

We cannot think of man and mankind without woman. According to the Holy Quran, she is created from the same stuff as man and of the same species, which means that they are part and parcel of each other.[30] The place assigned to her in Islam is definitely higher than that assigned to her in any other scheme, society or State in matters of ownership, inheritance, marriage, divorce, etc.[31] Man is only a degree above her due to the inherent difference between the two in physical and mental make-up, natural abilities and aptitudes. Her rights and privileges are protected by law and men are made guardians of women and warned to be just and kind to their companions.[32] A woman is regarded as a covering for the nakedness of man in the same way as a man is held as a covering for the nakedness of woman.[33] According to a well-known *Hadis*: 'Paradise lies at the feet of mothers.[34] If the Holy Prophet was a model for men, his daughter, Fatima Zahra, was a model for women. Speaking about her sterling qualities and demonstrating the place of woman in Islam, Allama Iqbal has stated that he would have showered *Sajdahs* (prostrations) on her grave (i. e. worshipped her) if the Law of the Lord and the order of the Apostle had not stood in his way.[35] He has

30. **Al-Quran**, iv: 1. 31. **Ibid.**, 1, ff., xxiv: 23-26.

32. **Ibid.**, iv: 34. 33. **Ibid.**, ii: 187.

34. Iqbal has put this idea in the the second verse:

آنکه نازد بر وجودش کائنات — ذکر او فرمود با طیب و صلوٰة

گفت آن مقصود حرف کن فکان — زیر پائے امہات آمد جنان

Also see Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 222, ff.

35. Iqbal has embodied this idea in the following verses:

رشتهٔ آئین حق زنجیر پاست — پاس فرمان جناب مصطفیٰ است

ورنه گرد تربتش گردیدمے — سجده ها بر خاک او پاشیدمے

made an emphatic appeal to all women to keep her as a motto before them and not to shut their mental eyes to her character.[36] According to Islam, woman's sphere of work is her home just as man's sphere of work is plough-field or market-place. It is crystal clear that their role is complementary and that they together make *history*. The superficial honour bestowed on her by man in modern milieu cannot eclipse her position in Islam.[37]

Unity of all History.

According to the Islamic Concept of History, the whole must be viewed as a whole to ensure a perfect picture, for a fragment detached from the whole is bound to be deficient and defective. Islam has laid the utmost emphasis on spiritual, human and organic unity, as will be evident from the ensuing account.

Spiritual Unity.

According to Islam, no one can claim to be Muslim without believing and declaring that there is no God but Allah, the Creator and Master of the Universe, no religion acceptable to HIm but Islam which covers the Faith, the State and the Culture, no Apostle but Muhammad, the last of the line and the *vice-regent* (*Khalifa*) of the Lord, and no code but Al-Quran, which has superseded all Scriptures and provided the most perfect guidance for all times and all climes. It has made universal appeal for spiritual unity in these words.

> Say : 'We believe in God, and the revelation given to us, and to Abraham, Ismail, Isaaq, Jacob, and the Tribes, and that given to Moses and Jesus and that given to (all) Prophets from

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36. The concluding couplet of the poem on the subject is:

فطرت تو جذبه ها دارد بلند — چشم هوش از اسوه زهره مبند

37. Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 222, ff.

their Lord: We make no difference between one and another of them and we bow to Him (in Islam).[38]

Al-Quran has enjoined belief in and equal respect for all the Apostles of Allah and the Books they brought. It has used the word Muslimun[39] (those who submit to Allah in Islam) for the followers of all theistic religions, which are but phases of the same movement of Truth, Faith, Love, Unity, Peace, Discipline, Devotion, Duty, etc.—Islam.[40] It has prescribed one path for all mankind:

Lo! Religion with Allah is Islam.[41]

And whosoever seeks as religion other than Islam or submission to Allah, it will not be accepted from him; and in the Hereafter he will be in the ranks of losers.[42]

And hold fast, all of you together, the Rope of God and do not be divided.[43]

In essence the Divine Message is the same for all mankind for all times. It was not new and was not confined to a particular class. Addressed to all the Worlds, it is universal in appeal and application. For instance, it is stated in the Quran:

Nothing is said to you (O Apostle!) that was not said to the Apostles before you.[44]

Verily this is no less than a Message to (all) the Worlds (with profit) to whoever among you wills to go straight.[45]

The Prophethood became perfect in the personality of Muhammad, the last of the long line. He came as a blessing or boon for all the worlds, as a Universal Messenger and as the best model for

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38. **Al-Quran,** ii: 285, iii: 136.

39. **Ibid.,** ii: 285. See **Muslimun** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

40. **Ibid.,** iii: 10, xlii: 15, iii: 19 notes by A. Yusuf Ali. in his **Translation.** Also see **Islam** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

41. **Al-Quran,** iii: 19.

42. **Ibid.,** iii: 85, lxi: 9.

43. **Ibid.,** iii: 103.

44. **Ibid.,** xli: 43.

45. **Al-Quran** is called **Zikr-ul-Alamin. Ibid.,** lxxxi: 27-28.

mankind, as is evident from the following verses of the Holy Quran:

> Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah and the last of the Prophets.[46]

> We sent you not, but as a Mercy for all the worlds.[47]

> We have not sent you but as a Universal Messenger.[48]

> You have indeed in the Apostle of Allah a beautiful pattern (of conduct).[49]

Human Unity.

Mankind was created from a single soul and it constituted one single nation. As Apostles came for its guidance and brought one Message—that of peace and submission to Allah i.e. Islam—, their followers named it after them and thus there arose various phases of the same movement, often at logger-heads with one another, until the last of the line came to restore it to its pristine position. The theme is beautifully illustrated by the following verses of the Holy Quran:

> Mankind was one single nation, and God sent Messengers with glad tidings and warnings: and with them He sent the Book in truth to judge between people in matters wherein they differed. But the people of the Book, after the clear Signs came to them, did not differ among themselves except through selfish contumacy. God by His Grace guides the Believers to the Truth concerning that wherein they differed.[50]

> Mankind was but one nation, but differed (later). Had it not been for a word that was sent forth before from your Lord, their differences would have been settled between them.[51]

> O mankind: Reverence your Guardian-Lord, Who created you from a single Person.[52]

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46. **Ibid.**, xxxiii: 40.
47. **Ibid.**, xxi: 107.
48. **Ibid.**, xxxiv: 28.
49. **Ibid.**, xxxiii: 21.
50. **Ibid.**, ii: 213.
51. **Ibid.**, x: 19.
52. **Ibid.**, iv: 1, xxxix: 6, xlix: 13.

Organic Unity.

While laying specific stress on the common origin of humanity or the unity of the human race, Al-Quran has emphasized with equal force the organic unity of all existence. While dealing with the question of creation or evolution, it has beautifully stated how the heavens and the earth and all that is between them are interrelated, how they form part of the whole called universe and how they are subject to the control of the Creator, whose position in relation to the universe is similar to that of the soul in relation to the human body:

> "He created the heavens and the earth in true (proportions): He makes the Night overlap the Day, and the Day overlap the Night: He has subjected the sun and the moon (to His law): Each one follows a course for a time appointed: Is He not Exalted in Power—He Who forgives again and again?"[53]

It is hardly necessary to add now that there could be no better illustration of spiritual, human and organic unity and 'unity of all history' than that envisaged and inculcated by Islam.

Greatest History.

The greatest history in the widest sense of the word from the true Islamic or Quranic point of view is the *Lauhim-Mahfuz*—the Tablet that preserves the clearest account of all that has happened, all that happens and all that will happen,—that which also preserves the Holy Quran which is, as it were, a preface or *Muqaddima* to it..[54] A word of explanation about the *Lauh* is necessary. It is Divine Psyche as distinct from Prophetic Psyche and Human Psyche already defined

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53. **Ibid.,** xxxix: 5. He is in and outside the universe.

54. **Ibid.**, lxxxv: 21-22. Also see **Lauh** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran** and **Hujjat-ullah-ul-Baligha**, Vol. i, p. 226.

and described. Al-Ghazali has dealt with the *Lauh* in his *Ahya-ul-Ulum* and Shah Waliullah in his *Hujjat-ullah-ul-Baligha*. According to them, the whole account is preserved in the *Lauh* in the same way as the Holy Quran is embedded in the memory of the *Hafiz*.[55] One who knows what exists and what has happened can reproduce it from memory in which it is preserved. Two things are necessary: knowledge and memory. Since God's knowledge is all-pervading—extending over the past, the present and the future—His Psyche is also co-extensive and co-eternal.

Greatest Historian.

According to the modern concept of history, which assigns to the historian a place higher than that occupied by any other expert in his subject so that he might view the whole from above,[56] the greatest historian is He Who is Almighty, All-seeing, All-hearing, All-wise, All-knowing—Who views, regulates, controls and directs all that He has created. He holds the highest place—*Arsh-ul-Azim*—and nothing can escape his notice.[57] He is represented by the Holy Prophet and his successors. To the students of history there can be no greater model for guidance than this.

Department of History.

To the student of history, who reads the Holy Quran from his angle and in the light of his background, it appears as if God has set up a regular Department of History. If history is regarded as a true statement of facts or truth and historians as

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55. Waliullah: **Hujjat-ullah-ul-Baligha,** pp. 226-27.

56. Gustavson: **A Preface to History,** p. 2.

57. **Al-Quran,** ix: 129. See **'Arsh** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

teachers of this truth, the Divine Message may well be pronounced as History and the Prophets as Professors of History. The last of the line—Hazrat Muhammad—gave a practical demonstration of the position of the Prophet (or historian according to the modern concept of history) when he went on top of the hill in front of Mecca and addressed the people thus: 'If I say that an armed force is ascending the hill with the intention of attacking you, will you believe me and take my statement for truth?' All the persons present there replied in the affirmative. The Prophet then put the following question: 'Why will you accept my statement as correct?' All of them replied with one voice: 'Because, in the first place, you are standing at a place from where you can see all around you and, secondly, you are so truthful that you have never told a lie.'[58] Can there be a better illustration of the position of the Prophet and his mission or of the historian and his job? Two clear-cut conclusions emerge from this authentic and informative *Hadis*: (1) The historian must be in a position to weigh and view all that he has to present in relation to the whole, and (2) he should hide nothing true and state nothing false: he must be scrupulously truthful.

Network of Recorders.

No student of history, while reading the Holy Quran, can miss to mark the fact that the Department of History, to which a short reference has been made above, includes a network of recorders or chroniclers (comparable with *Waqai-navis*) called *Kiram-un-Katibin* or the noble scribes, who are entrusted with

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58. **The Sahi Bukhari** and other Collections have reproduced this **Hadis** with slight variations. See **Maqam-i-Muhammadi** in the **Tulu'-i-Islam** series. See also pp. 57, ff., 43, ff. of this Volume.

the task of recording the good and bad thoughts and deeds of all individuals. Personal record or history-sheet is also called *kitab*.[59] On the Day of Judgment, it is stated in the Holy Quran, every person will carry his record with him and he will be rewarded or punished according to his good or bad deeds.[60] While the *Lauhim-Mahfuz* is a complete record of the past, the present and the future, the Holy Quran is the *Muqaddima* or Introduction to that work and forms the foundations of Science, Philosophy and Art at all levels, as we shall presently see.

Divine Message.

The Message of God to Mankind is the greatest monument of wisdom and mine of information. It has been differently designated as *Quran*, *Bayan*, *Tibyan*, *Kitab*, *Hadis*, *Tazkirah*, *Zikr*, *Tanzil*, *Mizan*, *Furqan*; *Burhan*, *Hikmat*, *Bashir*, *Nazir*, *Haq*, *Hidayat*, *Nur*, etc.[61] because it contains information and guidance covered by each of these captions. So close is the connection between the Message and the Messenger that all these terms are equally interchangeable when used in respect of both. It will be interesting and instructive to elucidate this theme a little further within the limited scope to show how far it is comprehensive and complete in character and contents.

Al-Quran.

Derived from the Arabic word *qirat*, which means reading and recitation, *Quran* is that which is read or recited. *Qirat* also means to collect and in this sense the Holy Quran is the collection of all parts of knowledge or, in other words, of all the revealed

59. **Al-Quran**, lxxix: 10-12.

60. **Ibid.**, lxxxiii: 6, ff., lxxxiv: 7, ff.

61. Ghazali: **Ahya-ul-Ulum-id-din**, Preface.

books of God.[62] It is significant that the first revealed verse of this Sacred Scripture opens with an injunction addressed to the Apostle of Allah with the word *Iqra* (read), and it is for this reason that the Divine Guidance, when spoken or expressed in words orally, is known as *Quran*.[63] As such, it is not difficult to account for the emphasis laid on the recitation of the Holy Quran.

Al-Bayan: Tibyan.

Bayan means that which opens, expresses or reveals what is hidden or concealed. The tongue expresses what generates in the mind. What is expressed is speech or statement. As a simple and straight statement of what is expressed, i. e. evidence, both oral and written,[64] the Divine Message is *Bayan*. It covers the narrative part of the Quran (*qasas* or stories) which deals with individuals and institutions. events and occurrences, and also includes that part which pertains to commands and prohibitions, etc. As such, it is definitely history, as commonly understood. Its importance is immensely enhanced with the assertion that it is *Tibyan* (a crystal-clear account) of all things, for *tibyan* means much more than *bayan* in clarity as well as comprehension.[65]

Al-Kitab.

In the form of writing or written record, the Divine Message is called *Kitab*. The most important part of it is called *Umm-ul-Kitab*, because it contains

62. **Al-Quran**, vii: 204, xv: 1, xli: 3. Also see **Quran** in the **Lughat-ul Quran**, **Al-Munjad** and **Al-Qamus**.

63. **Al-Quran**, xcvi: 1 ff. Also see **Al-Qamus**.

64. **Al-Quran**, iii: 138. Also see **Bayan** in **Al-Qamus**, **Lughat-ul-Quran** and **Muhit-ul-Muhit**.

65. **Al Quran**, xvi: 89. See **Tibyan** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

the essence of the Book[66]. It is also used in the sense of Nature's Open Book or Cosmos and its contents, other revealed books, personal records or history sheets of all individuals and the *Lauhim-Mahfuz*—Preserved Tablet.[67] In eloquence it is par excellence. No one could produce a single verse comparable to any of its verses. It is regarded as the most outstanding miracle of the Prophet.[68] In the purity of text it stands unrivalled. Its text is as intact to-day as it was a little less than fourteen centuries ago, and although the *Surahs* and the *Ayats* are not arranged in the order in which they were revealed, in spite of all the efforts of the Holy Prophet, the Book is the same and the whole Muslim World is in full agreement on this.[69]

Al-Hadis.

Hadis means that which is said or stated, reported or narrated—History.[70] As a simple statement or saying, a report or narrative, communicated to the people, the Message of God is spoken of as *Ahsan-ul-Hadis* or the Best History in the Holy Quran.[71] The *Hadis-i-Qudsi* or the *Hadis* of Allah, as distinct from the *Ahsan-ul-Hadis* (*Al-Quran*), should not be confused

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66. **Al-Quran,** ii, 2, iii: 138, v: 51, vii: 2, xxxix: 1, xli: 3. Also see **Kitab** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

67. **Al-Quran,** lxxxv: 21-22. Also see **Lauh** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

68. **Al-Quran,** ii: 23, x: 38, xi: 13 xvii: 89, (and note 2289 by A. Yusuf Ali in his **Translation of the Holy Quran**), lii: 34.

69. It is unanimously accepted as the word of God. See Jaffar: **Islamic Education** in the **Shafi Presentation Volume**.

70. **Al-Quran.** xii: 6, lxxix: 15, lvi: 81. See **Hadis** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran** and **Al-Qamus**.

71. **Al-Quran.** xxxix: 23.

with the *Hadis* of the Holy Prophet.[72] Springing from the same source, it is not contained in the Quran. The Holy Quran has also dealt with the art of interpreting history called *Tawil-il-Ahadis*,[73] which forms a separate topic.

Al-Tazkirah.

The word *Tazkirah* is derived from the word *Zikr*, to be noticed separately, which means to remind, revive and re-state what is gone into the past and forgotten. *Tazkirah*, therefore, means revival, reminder, remembrance[74]. The Holy Quran is so called because it reminds the people of the Message of God, forgotten by them; it revives the memory of the Message and restores remembrance of the same.[75] *Tazkirah* also means advice and what could be a greater advice than that given by God?

Al-Zikr.

Literally, *Zikr* means that which is remembered in the course of mental process and spoken or stated by tongue. It means the art or process of remembering and adoring God, mentally as well as vocally.[76] It may take the form of prayer or worship other than that prescribed or a love-song, according to the concept of the worshipper. The Holy Quran is called *Zikr* because it is the Word or Message of God and as such an object of adoration or communion with

72. Cf. Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, p. 347. Also see p. 318 of this Volume.

73. **Al-Quran**, xii: 21, 101-02. See **Tawil-il-Ahadis** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**. Also see pp. 313-14 of this Volume.

74. **Al-Quran**, xx: 2-3, lxix: 48. See **Tazkirah** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran** and **Al-Qumas**.

75. **Al-Quran**, xx: 3, lxxiii: 19, lxxiv: 54, lxxvi: 29.

76. **Ibid.**, vii: 2, 205, xv: 9, xxxvi: 69, xl: 54, l: 45, lxiii: 9, lxxxi: 27. See **Zikr** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

God. As it is sound and scientific, it is called *Zikr-ul-Hakim.*[77] *Zikr* is also used in the sense of knowledge and learning. For instance: 'Ask the learned (*Ahl-az-Zikr*) that which you do not know' is the command of the Quran.[78]

Al-Tanzil.

Literally, this word means to come down, to descend (from heaven), to dawn upon someone by well-arranged stages.[79] It is used for the Holy Quran because it has descended from heaven in the form of *Wahi* (communication) in systematic stages.[80] The logic of *tanzil* or gradual and well-regulated communication of the Quran is explained in the following verses, which lay specific emphasis on *evolution* and *instruction:*

> Those who reject the faith say: 'Why is not the Quran revealed to him (Prophet) all at once'? Thus (is it revealed) that We may strengthen your heart thereby, and we have rehearsed it to you in slow, well-arranged stages, gradually.[81]

> And no question do they bring to you but We reveal to you the truth and the best explanation (thereof).[82]

Mark the significance of the word *tartila*, which means *well-arranged* or *in systematic order.*[83] The idea underlying this arrangement was that the sequence of the text should not by disturbed. The Prophet's practice of putting the communications (*Wahi*) in their proper place and keeping them intact as well as of correcting, where necessary, the sequence disturbed by the scribes or those who had committed

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77. **Al-Quran**, iii: 58. 78. **Ibid.**, xxi: 7.

79. **Ibid.**, vi: 50, xxvi: 192, xli: 2, 42, lv: 80, lxxx: 43. See **Tanzil** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran.**

80. **Al-Quran,** vi: 50, xx: 4, xxvi: 192, xli: 2, 42, lxxx: 43. See also **Tanzil** in the **Lughat ul-Quran**.

81. **Al-Quran**, xxv: 32. 82. **Ibid.**, vxv: 33.

83. See **Tartila** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran.**

them to memory clearly envisaged the need for a sound system of classification of records.

Al-Mizan.

Mizan means balance or weighing instrument.[84] Used in this sense, the Holy Quran means an instrument with which one can weigh all moral issues, all matters of right and wrong and all questions of good and bad conduct. It is a corrective: It confirms what is correct and rejects what is wrong. It is also used in the sense of the faculty of judging between right and wrong and regarded as a God-given gift. It is employed for ascertaining truth and used as an emblem of justice and an insignia of law courts in the Muslim World.[85]

Al-Furqan.

Literally, the word *Furqan* means that which separates one from the other or distinguishes between the two.[86] The day on which the Battle of Badr was faught is so designated because it distinguished Good from Evil or Right from Wrong.[87] *Al-Quran* is also called *Al-Furqan* or the Criterion which distinguishes between Right and Wrong, Good and Bad, Truth and Falsehood, etc. and the Touchstone with which to test the truth of things other than itself.[88] As such it is one of the greatest gifts of God to mankind. *Surah*

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84. **Al-Quran,** xlii: 17, lv: 8, lvii: 25, etc. Also see **Mizan** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran** and **Al-Qamus.**

85. **Ibid.** Also see A. Yusuf Ali's note 4550 on xlii: 17 of his **Translation of the Holy-Quran.**

86. See **Furqan** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**; and **Al-Qamus.**

87. **Al-Quran,** iii: 3, viii: 41. Also see A. Yusuf Ali's note 1210 in his **Translation of the Holy Quran.**

88. **Al-Quran,** ii: 53, iii: 4.

XXV (*Al-Furqan*) is so styled because it opens with this word and develops still further the difference between Light and Darkness, or Day and Night, Knowledge and Ignorance, Right and Wrong dealt with here and there in the Holy Book. The do's and don'ts (*Awamir o Nawahi*),[89] on which so much stress is laid, also testify to this distinguishing quality forming the foundation of history and historical research.

Al-Burhan.

Burhan, of which approximate equivalents are *Hujjat*, *Dalil*, etc., means evidence, a little more than evidence, proof, convincing proof. It also means logic and law, argument and reason.[90] The Holy Quran is so called because it furnishes evidence and proof in support of the existence and unity of the Creator and His Plan; it is an argument against evil and atheistic tendencies; it is reason itself, which means that it has nothing unreasonable and that it is based on reason; it is logic itself and there is nothing illogical about it; and it is law for the maintenance of peace and order.[91]

Al-Hikmat.

According to Coleridge, the antithesis of poetry is not prose but science. Obviously, Coleridge had in view the type of poetry which is condemned on account of laxity and lack of precision. Similarly, when the Holy Quran asserts that it should not be taken for poetry, it does not mean that it is prose but that it is science, i.e. precise, because all that is

89. See **Al-Furqan** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran** and **Al-Qamus**.

90. See **Burhan, Hujjat** and **Dalil** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**, **Al-Qamus** and **Muhit-ul-Muhit**.

91. **Al-Quran**, iv: 174, xii: 24.

contained in it is in conformity with the laws of logic and science.[92] Here is an appropriate word—*Hikmat*, which combines the qualities of and stands for philosophy and science[93]—a word which Flint failed to find in his own language.[94] The words *Kitab* and *Hikmat* are mentioned side by side and we come across such combinations in the Quran as *Kitab-wal-Hikmat*, *Kitab-ul-Hakim*, *Zikr-ul-Hakim*, etc.[95] The Laws of Nature (*Sunnat-ullah*: *Taqdir*) are firm and fixed. They know no change.[96] What produced a particular consequence or led to a specific result in the past will do so to-day and in future under the same circumstances and in the same conditions. It is in this sense that history repeats itself. Call it philosophy or science; It is both—*Hikmat*. On the one hand the process is one of attaining precision (science) and on the other hand, it is one of cause and effect or causation and there is no room for chance. The Holy Quran confirms this universal truth when it traces the causes of the rise and fall of nations and applies itself repeatedly to the recurring events and occurrences, etc.[97] To the contention that history is not a science because it has no laboratory for experimentation and verification, Al-Quran has furnished a practical reply by treating the whole universe as a laboratory of history.[98]

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92. **Ibid.**, xxxvi: 69.

93. See **Hikmat** in **Al-Qamus** and the **Lughat-Quran**. Also see **Nahj-ul-Balaghat**, (A.N.) p. 1112.

94. Flint: **Philosophy of History**, pp. 19-20.

95. **Al-Quran**, ii: 129,151,231, iii: 48, 58, 81, 164, x: 1, xxxvi: 2, xxxviii: 20, xliii: 63, liv: 5.

96. **Ibid.**, xxxv: 43. See Waliullah : **Hujjat-ullah-ul-Baligha**, Vol. i, pp. 178, ff., A. Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 403, ff., 492-93; **Nahj-ul-Balaghat** (A.N.), pp.1109-11.

97. **Al-Quran**, xxxix: 23. Also see **Mutashabih** and **Masani** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

98. Such is the scope of the **Holy Quran**. Vide supra.

Al-Haq.

Haq means truth.[99] The Holy Quran is called *Al-Haq* because of its divine origin and also because it contains facts based on truth.[100] As such, it has championed the cause of truth. It has established *Tauhid* (*Haq*) so firmly that no one has had the courage to claim that he is God. It has enjoined equal respect for all the Apostles of Allah and affirmed their sinlessness.[101] It has corrected religious beliefs and modified moral standards. It has eradicated historical errors and inaccuracies. It has vindicated the honour of Apostles like Christ and the chastity of ladies like Mary.[102] In short it has reinstated religion in its right place.

Al-Bashir: Al-Nazir.

Bashir means giver of good news or glad tidings and *Nazir* means warner.[103] The Holy Quran came as *Bashir* as well as *Nazir*. In the following verses it refers to the fate of those who at the height of their power and pride blew their own trumpet and forgot God and His Signs and quotes the archaeological evidence to support its argument:

> Has not the story reached you of those who rejected Faith aforetimes? So they tasted the evil result of their conduct and they had a grievous penalty.[104]

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99. See **Haq** in **Al-Qamus**, **Muhit-ul-Muhit** and the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

100. **Al-Quran**, v: 51, xiii: 1, lvi: 95, lxix: 51, lvi: 80.

101. **Ibid.**, ii: 136, 285.

102. **Ibid.**, ii: 163, v: 75, vi: 100, x: 68, xvi:51, xix: 16-35, iii: 42, 45-46, 48-49.

103. **Al-Quran**, xli: 4. See **Bashir** and **Nazir** in **Al-Qamus** and the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

104. **Al-Quran**, xi: 2, lxiv: 5.

> Do they not travel through the land and see what was the end of those before them? They were more numerous than these and superior in strength and in the traces (monuments they have left) in the land. Yet all they accomplished was of no profit to them. For when their Apostles came to them with their clear signs, they exulted in such knowledge (and skill) as they had; but that very (Wrath) at which they were wont to scoff hemmed them in.[105]

> We destroyed them for their crimes and we drowned the people of Pharaoh: for they were all oppressors and wrong-doers.[106]

Side by side with stating that the sequal of evil is evil and that wrong-doing and oppression bring about the ruin of their perpetrators, the Holy Quran has repeatedly extolled virtue and promised to reward good deeds. For instance:

> And those who believe and do good works: such are rightful owners of the Garden (Paradise). They will abide therein.[107]

> Good is the reward of those who do good in this world.[108]

Does it not follow from the above account that human beings are responsible for their work, good and bad, and also for the consequences that follow?[109] It is in this sense that nations rise and fall and civilizations succeed one another. Having equipped all with all that they required for judging between right and wrong, having pointed out the right path (*Sirat-ul-Mustaqim*) by providing the most perfect guidance and having appointed suitable teachers for their instruction, Allah left it open to the people to pick and choose, to discard and do away with.[110] It is clearly stated in the Holy Quran: 'God will never

105. **Ibid.**, xl: 82-83.
106. **Ibid.**, viii: 54.
107. **Ibid.**, ii: 82.
108. **Ibid.**, xxxix: 10.
109. **Ibid** vi: 164, xvii: 71, xc: 8-10.
110. Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 403, ff., 492-93.

change the Grace He has bestowed on a people until they change what is in their (own) souls.'[111] The references to *Al-Yaum-ul-Hisab*, *Al-Yaum-ul-Qayamat* and *Al-Waqia* or the Day of Reckoning, the Day of Judgment and The Event respectively remind them of the reward and retribution for the work done.[112] Psychologically speaking, there could be no more effective way of ensuring universal peace and this is what Islam means and what it stands for. History is now widening its scope and approaching the ideal which Islam has set before mankind.

Al-Hidayat.

Hidayat means guidance.[113] In this respect the Holy Quran is unique. It deals with the Faith, the State and the Culture, which comprise all the activities of mankind. It gives guidance to all, at all times, in all climes and at all levels.[114] There is no other book in the world which within the same compass contains so much guidance for the good of humanity on so many subjects. In addition to *Awamir o Nawahi* (Do's and Don'ts) it contains valuable advice and instruction on all subjects, based on accumulated experience of mankind. It has dealt with the various problems of life and provided solutions therefor. It has treated different cases differently in different circumstances. It is as simple and as complex as the needs of human life, which differ with different peo-

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111. **Al-Quran**, viii: 53. Also see x: 57. **Ibid.**

112. **Ibid.**, ii: 113, xxxiii: 21, xxxviii: 26, xxxix: 15, lvi. Also see **Yaum-ul-Akhir**, **Yaum-ul-Hisab** and **Yaum-ul-Qayamat** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

113. **Al-Quran**, ii: 2, vii: 203, x: 57. See **Hidayat** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

114. Jaffar: **Islam—The Faith, The State And The Culture**.

ple, at different times and in different places,[115] One must have a seeing eye, a searching mind, a sympathetic heart and a soaring imagination to pick up from it what one needs for one's guidance and good. This is obviously an art of the first water and so far as skill in this art is concerned, a close study of the Quran and the guidance of those firmly grounded in knowledge are indispensable.[116]

An-Nur.

Nur means that which drives away darkness or the dark clouds of ignorance and hence light, lustre, luminance or knowledge.[117] The Holy Quran is so called because it dispels darkness or ignorance and sheds light or lustre on and illumines the whole world, enlightens man's mind and points out the right path—*Sirat-ul-Mustaqim*. It has devoted full one *Surah* to this subject of supreme importance.[118]

Metaphors.

The Holy Quran consists of (1) *Mohkamat* or fundamentals, forming the foundation of the Book, which are crystal clear and need no clarification, and (2) *Mutashabihat*—allegories or metaphors which are capable of being interpreted by different interested individuals according to their selfish motives, but the exact and correct meaning of which is known only to God and through Him to His Prophet and through His Prophet to those firmly grounded in knowledge.[119]

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115. **Al-Quran** is also called **Mau'za**. **Ibid.**, x: 57.

116. Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 395, 96; Jaffar: **Islamic Education** in the **Shafi Presentation Volume**.

117. **Al-Quran, Surah** xxiv. See **Nur** in **Al-Qamus** and the **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

118. **Al-Quran,** xxiv. 1, xiv: 1, iv: 174. Also see A. Yusuf Ali's note 679 in his **Translation of the Holy Quran**.

119. **Al-Quran,** *iii: 7, xii: 101-02, xvi: 43, xviii: 65.*

The reading that Allah alone knows their correct meaning will render them useless for mankind for whom the whole Book and not only the part covering the *Mohkamat* is meant for guidance. The trend of the text and the insistence on the use of the word *ilm* (knowledge) show that those firmly grounded in it know the hidden meaning and this is confirmed by the command: 'Ask the initiated in the Scripture what you do not know.'[120] It follows that others should also know their meaning.

Muqattaat.

The abbreviations (*Muqattaat*) employed in the Holy Quran (ا ل م or A, L, M, etc.) present a more puzzling problem to the uninitiated, but there can be no doubt that they are code words or characters and have some sort of mystic meaning known only to Allah, His Apostle and the *Ahl-az-Zikr*, also called *Rasikhuna fil ilm*.[121] They represent knowledge of an order still higher than that of metaphors. Of the *Muqattaat* mentioned in the Holy Quran, different interpretations have been offered by different scholars of different schools of thought and some of them seem to be very plausible. Just one instance pertaining to the letters ا ل م (A-L-M) will do here: It is stated: 'A is a breathing and comes from the throat, L is a lingual-palatal-dental sound from the middle of the mouth and M is a labial and lip-sound' — symbolical of Beginning, Middle and End or Rise, Growth and Death.[122] The Holy Quran made use of the *Muqattaat* (abbreviations) long before the invention of

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120. **Ibid.**, iii: 7, xxii: 101-02, xvi: 43, xviii: 65, xxi 7.

121 **Ibid.**, ii : 1. Also see A. Yusuf Ali's note 25 and Appendix I and **al-Kur'an** in the **Encyclopaedia of Islam.**

122. Yusuf Ali: **Translation of The Holy Quran,** note 25.

stenography or short-hand and cryptography forming part of cypher or secret code now employed for the sake of brevity and secrecy chiefly in the State Service. It may have done so for the same purpose but no one except the experts can say so or otherwise with certainty. Scholars have exploited their ingenuity and exhausted their eloquence in trying to discover their meaning according to their lights.[123] How far the conclusions drawn or the conjectures hazarded by them meet or make an approach to the meanings assigned to them by Allah cannot be said, but the efforts in this direction have certainly sharpened intellect and stimulated the spirit of inquiry and research.

Recording

The Holy Quran fully recognizes the importance of writing or recording, which forms the foundation of recorded history as it has come down to us, when it extols pen and paper (parchment) as indispensable instruments of preserving and propagating knowledge in the following verses:

> Nun. By the pen and what they write with it.[124]
>
> He Who (Allah) teaches by the pen......[125]
>
> Had We sent down unto you Muhammad (actual) writing upon parchment so that they could feel it with their hands....[126]

The Holy Quran has categorically enjoined to reduce to writing proceedings of all actions and transactions, great or small, without any slackness. It has clearly laid down:

> O' believers: When you contract a debt for a fixed term, keep a record thereof in writing. The scribe must record it with equity......Be not averse to writing down (the transaction) whether small or great.[127]

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123. Ibid., Appendix I, pp. 118, ff.

124. Al-Quran, lxviii: 1.

125. Ibid., xcvi: 4.

126. Ibid., vi: 7.

127. Ibid., ii: 282.

The word *Kitab* (record) repeatedly appears in the Holy Quran with reference to sacred scriptures and in connection with the good and bad work of human beings. The angels entrusted with the task of recording good and bad deeds are called *Kiram-un-Katibin* or noble scribes. The following verses refer to the records of both kinds:

With us is a *record* preserving (full account).[128]

Then he that will be given his *record* in his right hand will say: 'Ah! take and read my *record*.'[129]

And he that will be given his *record* in his left hand will say: 'Ah! Would that my *record* had not been given to me.[130]

Nay! Surely the *record* of the wicked is (preserved) in *Sijjin*. And what will explain to you what *Sijjin* is?[131]

There is a *register* (fully) inscribed.[132]

Nay, verily the *record* of the righteous is (preserved) in *Illiyin*.[133]

There is a *register* (fully) inscribed.[134]

Then he who is given his *record* in his right hand, soon will his account be taken by easy reckoning. But he who is given his *record* at his back, soon will he cry for perdition.[135]

By the Mount and a Scripture inscribed on fine parchment unrolled.[136]

Lo! there are above you guardians, generous and recording, who know all that you do.[137]

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128. **Ibid.**, 1: 4.
129. **Ibid.**, lxix: 19-20.
130. **Ibid.**, lxix: 25.
131. **Ibid.**, lxxxiii: 7-15.
132. **Ibid.**, lxxxiii: 9.
133. **Ibid.**, lxxxiii: 18-21.
134. **Ibid.**, lxxxiii: 20.
135. **Ibid.**, lxxxiv: 7-15.
136 **Ibid.**, lii: 1-3.
137. **Ibid.**, lxxxii: 10-12.

Importance of Evidence.

The interest of Islam in history extends far enough when it provides the foundation of other equally important fundamentals of historical criticism in the following verses relating to the suppression of facts and distortion of evidence:

Confound not truth with falsehood, nor knowingly conceal the truth.[138]

And who is more unjust than he who hides a testimony which he has received from Allah.[139]

Conceal not evidence, for whoever conceals it, his heart is tainted with sin.[140]

O' People of the Scripture! Why do you confound truth with falsehood and knowingly conceal the truth?[141]

That is most suitable that they may give the evidence in its true nature and shape.[142]

O' you who believe! Stand out firmly for justice as witnesses to God, even as against yourselves, or your parents, or your kin, and whether it be against rich or poor: For God can best protect both. Follow not the lusts lest you swerve from truth and if you distort evidence or decline to do justice, verily God is acquainted with all you do.[143]

Verification of Evidence.

As already stated, the Holy Quran is called *Furqan* because it differentiates between truth and falsehood. The emphasis it has laid on the verification of evidence before it is relied upon will be evident from the following verses:

And if any news, whether of safety or fear, is brought to them, they give it publicity, whereas if they had referred it to the Apostle or those who are able to verify the matter would have

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138. **Ibid.**, ii: 42.
139. **Ibid.**, ii: 140.
140. **Ibid.**, ii: 283.
141. **Ibid.**, iii: 71.
142. **Ibid.**, v: 111.
143. **Ibid.**, iv: 135.

known it. But for the grace of Allah and His mercy upon you, you would have followed Satan except a few (of you).[144]

"O' believers! If a bad man comes to you with a report, check it up at once, lest you smite some people in ignorance and later repent of what you did."[145]

The Holy Prophet struck the same note when he said: "To report whatever one hears (without verification) is a sufficient proof of the fact that it is false."[146] All that one reads or hears may or may not be correct. It must, therefore, be verified before the whole or part thereof is accepted as correct or rejected as wrong. In short the sifting of evidence by subjecting it to scrutiny is another fundamental of historical criticism supplied by the Holy Quran and supported by the authentic *Ahadis*.

Interpretation of History.

The correct interpretation of history or that which has happened (events and occurrences, etc.) is another important fundamental of research on which we get good guidance from the Holy Quran. The following passage in *Surah Yusuf* is as inspiring as it is illuminating:

Thus did We establish Joseph in the land, so that We might teach him the interpretation of *Ahadis* (*Tawil-il-Ahadis*). And Allah has full power and control over His affairs; but most among mankind know it not.[147]

The word *Ahadis*, translated as stories, events and history, covers all things which are imagined and related as well as all things which have actually happened in life and seen in the true dreams called

144. **Ibid.**, iv: 83. 145. **Ibid.**, xlix: 6.

146. **Hadis** quoted by Shibli in his **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. i, p. 41. It must be read with reference to the context. See **Nahj-ul-Balaghat**, (J.H.), Vol. ii, p. 49.

147. **Al-Quran**, xii: 21. See **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

Ruya.[148] The phenomenal events or external events in the physical world are reality indeed, but they have behind them greater and grimmer realities, dim and dark to those of ordinary vision but clear to seers and sages in proportion to the clarity of their vision. Hazrat Yusuf (Joseph) was endowed with a penetrating vision and specially trained in the art of interpreting *Ahadis* or events and occurrences both in dreams and in actual life, because he had to deal with the wiles of a woman, the betrayal of his brothers and the irony of fate, to deliver divine message to the people and to interpret the hidden meanings of human faults and failures, etc. His own vision of the moon, the sun and the stars falling at his feet (his rise to a position with the King, the Minister and the Courtiers under him) was not an idle dream.[149] The world has remembered only one part of his knowledge—interpretation of dreams—and forgotten the other aspect—interpretation of history or causes and effects of events. *The Surah Yusuf* is an excellent exposition of the subject.[150]

Quranic Philosophy of History.

The Holy Quran has beautifully preserved the memory of good deeds. The institution of *Hajj*[151] or pilgrimage to Mecca is an instance in point: It has immortalized the pious acts of Hazrat Ibrahim and his wife, Bibi Hajra, including the sacrifice of their son, Hazrat Ismail, and perpetuated its memory by instituting the Islamic festival of *Id-uz-Zuha*, which is

148. See **Ruya** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran**. Also see Sulaiman Nadvi: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. iii, p. 156.

149. **Al-Quran**, xii: 4-6, 21, 101-02.

150. See A. Yusuf Ali's article on **Allegorical Interpretation of the Story of Joseph** in Appendix VI of his **Translation of the Holy Quran**, pp. 592-600. Also see **Al-Quran**, xviii: 65.

151. See **Al-Quran**, **Surah** xxii (**Hajj**).

celebrated year after year all over the Muslim World with great enthusiasm.[152] It attracts millions of Muslims and demonstrates Islamic Unity, commencing from the daily congregational prayers in local mosques, developing in the Juma' prayers in the *Jami' Masjids* and *Id* prayers in the open air and culminating in the annual congregation at Mecca, believed to be the centre of the whole world (*Ummul-Qura*).[153] *Ka'ba*, the House of Allah (*Baitullah*) and the Abode of Antiquity (*Bait-ul-Atiq*), comprising a four-walled structure of modest dimensions, constructed by Hazrat Ibrahim and his son, Ismail, became the *Qibla* (direction to which all Muslims turn their faces at the time of prayer) because of its sanctity as the oldest seat of worship.[154] We have it in the Holy Quran:

> Lo! the first Sanctuary designed for mankind was that at Becca (Mecca), the blessed place and the oracle of guidance for all worlds and times, wherein are plain memorials; the place of Abraham; and whosoever enters it is safe. And pligrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind for him who can find a way there.[155]

> And now verily We shall make you turn in prayer toward a *Qiblah* which is dear to you. So turn your face toward the *Masjid-ul-Haram* (*Ka'ba*: Inviolable Place of Worship) and you (O' Muslims!) wherever you may be, turn your faces (at prayer) toward it.[156]

Neither Mount Averest nor any other mountain but the tiny hillocks of Al-Safa and Al-Marwata in the same vicinity are acclaimed as *Sha'ir Allah* or Symbols of God, because they are associated with the frantic

152. **Al-Quran**, xxxvii: 99-111. Also see **Surah** xxii which is entitled **Hajj** and ii: 158.

153. **Ibid.**, vi:93, xl: 7. Also see **Umm-ul-Qura** in the **Lughat-ul-Quran.**

154. Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 159, ff. For **Kaaba** see **Lughat-ul-Quran** and Baizawi: **Bab-ul-Hajj.**

155. **Al-Quran**, iii: 96-27.

156. **Ibid.**, ii: 144.

race of Bibi Hajra from one hillock to the other and back again in search of water for her thirsty child.[157] But for the scarcity of space, the theme could be developed further by assimilating similar instances.

Historical Method.

While reading the Holy Quran, the student of history cannot fail to note the historical method adopted by the Author to explain and illustrate general principles and precepts and enunciate abstract notions in the light of the instances taken from the history of the past.[158] Dwelling upon the rise and fall of nations, Allah directs the Apostle to draw upon the accumulated experience of mankind and invite the people to reflect upon the history of the past.

> Tell the stories of the past so that they (people) might think and reflect over them.[159]
>
> They (people) should draw lessons from these stories.[160]

While reading the narrative part of the Holy Quran, which is called *Qasas-ul-Haq* and *Ahsan-ul-Qasas* or True Account and Noble Narrative, we frequently come across such words as *t'ali mun, tafakkarun, tazakkarun, t'aqilun, tadabbirun,* etc. i. e. learn, reflect, take advice, have wisdom, plan, etc.[161]

Quranic Contribution.

Reviewing the subject-matter of this chapter, we can safely say that as an embodiment of all know-

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157. The **Sha ir-Allah** refer to pious places and performances associated with them. **Al-Quran**, ii: 158, v: 2, xxii: 22. 26, Also see **Lughat-ul-Quran** and A. Yusuf Ali's note 160 in his **Translation of the Holy Quran**.

158. Sherwani: **Muslim Political Thought**, p. 47.

159. **Al-Quran**, vii: 176.

160. **Ibid.**, xii: 111.

161. **Ibid.**, iii: 62, xii: 1. For these and various other directives see **Al-Quran** and **Lughat-ul-Quran**.

ledge, the Holy Quran stands unique in the world. There is no other book which within the same space has dealt with and stimulated the study of so many sciences and fostered intellectual efflorescence.[162] It is in fact history in the widest sense of the word. That is why it claims to contain a clear exposition of all things fresh and dry:

There is nothing fresh or dry (green or withered) which is not (inscribed) in a Record clear (to those who can read).[163]

And We have sent down to you the Book explaining all things, a Guide, a Mercy, and Glad-Tidings to Muslims.[164]

It deals with all existence as such—the entire universe—, the seen and the unseen. It encompasses the past, the present and the future, and provides the most perfect code for all mankind. Most of it is devoted to *Qasas* or stories of historical persons and places, events and occurrences —exceptional as well as commonplace—, and the remainder too cannot be excluded from history in the modern sense of the word. Hence the appellation *Ahsan-ul-Qasas*, already noted.[165] The Faith and its fundamentals, the Ethics and its values, the State and its subjects, the Society and its civilization, the Nature and its phenomena, etc.—all find a place in the picture either in the form of *Mohkamat*—obvious facts—or in the form of *Mutashabihat*—metaphors.[166] The code is complete, but it is as complex as the needs of life. Therefore, one must have a seeing eye, a searching heart and a sound mind to pick up from it what one needs. Failing that, one must approach those firmly grounded in knowledge, also called *Ahl-az-Zikr*.[167]

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162. See **Al-Quran**; Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**; Jaffar: **Islam—The Faith, The State And The Culture**; and Shushtery: **Outlines of Islamic Culture**.
163. **Al-Quran, vi: 59.**
164. **Ibid.**, xvi:89. Iqbal: دریا به حباب اندر - دنیا به کتاب اندر
165. **Ibid.**, xii: 3.
166. **Ibid.**, iii: 7.
167. **Ibid.**, xxi: 7. See Hirvi: **Mawaiz-i-Hasana**, pp. 78, ff.

Sunnah: Ahadis: Traditions.

Spoken words are as valuable as written records provided they are properly preserved and their inter-relation is kept intact. They constitute an integral part of source-material for history. Those of Hazrat Muhammad form the foundation of his biography—life and work—and the basis of Islamic Ideology next only to the Holy Quran. Here it is necessary to add a word of explanation: According to the Holy Quran, the Prophet never spoke of his own desire and all that he spoke was *Wahi.*[168] This being so, the question arises: What is the difference between the *Quran* and the *Hadis* when both of them are based on *Wahi*? An instance from the Archives will aptly illustrate the difference between the two. The order of an Emperor in his own words or issued under his own authority is called *Farman*, whereas that issued by his Viceroy in his own words but according to the Imperial instructions is called *Hasb-ul-Hukm* (By Order of).[169] Both the orders (*Farman* and *Hasb-ul-Hukm*) are operative and have to be obeyed, but the former is more important than the latter and in the event of a clash between the two due to an error or omission on the part of the scribe or the transmitter, the latter will give way. Exactly in the same way the guidance given by God in his own words is called *Quran* and that given by the Prophet in his own words but according to the Will of God is called *Hadis*. One is the *set* Code and the other the commentary thereon. Being based on the same source, both are binding on the Faithful as repeatedly laid down in the Holy Quran.[170] The obedience to the Apostle is unconditional and unqualified.

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168. **Al-Quran,** liii: 3-4. Rumi has put it thus:
گفتهٔ او گفتهٔ الله بود - گرچه از حلقوم عبد الله بود -

169. Jaffar: **Historical Wealth of N.-W. F. P.**, p. 21.

170. For 'Obey Allah and obey the Prophet' see **Al-Quran,** iii: 31-32, iv: 59, 64-65, 69,80, v: 95, viii: 20, 24, 46, xxiv: 51-52, 54, xlvii: 33, xliv: 12, lix: 7.

The believers are directed to refer to him and to God for decision in all matters of dispute.[171] It is nowhere stated or hinted that he was to be obeyed only in matters of religion and that his followers had the option of differing from him in secular affairs. As Islam does not bifurcate the two aspects of life—religious and secular—and as he had come as a model for mankind, he had to be obeyed outright, the obedience being conditioned by no considerations. Hence the *Ahadis* also form the basis of Islamic Ideology, provided they are authentic, intact and immune from all interpolations.

Muhammad's Outlook on History.

As the Apostle of Allah had come as a model for mankind, the Musalmans made it a point to ensure that no act or utterance of his was left unnoticed. Some of his followers had reserved themselves exclusively for the collection and preservation of his sayings and the observation and perpetuation of the memory of his acts, both public and private. Their number is stated to be about seventy. The *Chabutra* (platform) of the *Masjid-i-Nabavi*) served as auditorium, from which they looked and listened.[172] He encouraged them in taking down his words and recording his doings in their own words. Once, when one of his companions complained that his memory was so weak that it could not retain his sayings, he advised him to use his right hand (for writing). [73] On another occasion when it was brought to his notice that one of his companions used to take down his sayings, he gave his ruling in his favour.[174] Abdullah bin Umar bin As has reported that he used to write down all that he heard from the Prophet, that when

171. **Ibid.**, iv: 59, 65. 172. Shibli, **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. i, pp. 292-93; S. Nadvi: **Khutbat-i-Madras**, pp. 83-84.
173. Rashid No'mani: **Ibn Maja aur Ilm-i-Hadis**, p. 135.
174. **Ibid.**

the Quraish forbade him from doing so on the ground that he was a human being and hence subject to the influence of joy and anger, he stopped doing so, that when the Apostle was apprised of this, he turned his finger towards his mouth and said: 'I swear by God in whose grip is my life that nothing except truth comes out from my mouth. Do write it down!'[175] Another *Hadis* is to the effect that knowledge ought to be preserved by writing and recording.[176] We are also informed that after the Battle of Badr the prisoners of war who could not pay the *Fidya* (ransom) were required to teach the art of writing to ten boys each in return for their safety. Said bin Sabit was one of them.[177] Instances like these can indefinitely be added to the list. We also come across repeated references to the records of orders and instructions, treaties and agreements, correspondence with foreign rulers, etc. written on paper, parchment and other materials.[178] The allegation that the Apostle was opposed to the recording of his sayings lest they should be mixed up with the verses of the Quran lose all force in the face of the Quranic injunctions and Apostolic orders, already cited.[179] According to one *Hadis*, 'Writing the history of the life of a Muslim is like reviving him, reading his history is like visiting him and restoring this (new life) is like reviving all mankind;'[180] and according to another 'There is no calumny as far as the wicked are concerned, and 'evildoers and their evil deeds must be exposed so that

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175. **Ibid.** 176. **Ibid.**, p. 136.

177. Shibli No'mani: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. i, p. 11.

178. **Ibid.**, pp. 16-17; Rashid No'mani: **Ibn Maja aur Ilm-i-Hadis**, pp. 136, ff.

179. The danger of confusing the **Hadis** with the **Quran** was greater when left unrecorded.

180. Quoted by As-Sakhawi in his **I'lan**. See Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 236.

mankind may be on guard against them.'[181] We have already noted how the Holy Prophet gave a practical demonstration of his position as Prophet (true historian) on the mount in front of Mecca and how he emphasized the importance of authentic evidence.[182] We must add here that he was the principal proponent of Islam and the exponent of the Quran, whose historical outlook was completely consistent with the character and contents of the Quran, and conclude with what a non-Muslim critic has stated on the subject:

> The appreciation of the value of the action of the present was accompanied by a clear and well-defined appreciation of the value of the events of the past. Muhammad himself was the final goal of the historical processes which were set in motion with the creation of the world. At various periods, spiritual guides had risen in different geographical locations. They had either succeeded or failed in their mission during their lifetime, and all of them had more or less failed to give permanence to their message. Now, Muhammad appeared, and his message would be final and permanent. Muhammad was no new beginning. He was historically connected with succession of prophets and he was, in particular, the successor of one of them, Abraham. Only the triumphs and defeats of the history of the past had made Muhammad what he was.[183]
>
> It is worth noting that this picture of the history of the past covers the whole of the world as it was mirrored in the mind of Muhammad.........The history of the whole had been the concern of the Creator. The Prophet thus devised a universal scheme of past history which had only to be filled in by actual historical facts as soon as those facts became available.[184]
>
> The stimulus which Muhammad's historical ideas could give and, later on, actually did give to the occupation with history could not have been any stronger....[185]

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181. **Ibid.**, p. 273. 182. See p. 295 of this Volume.

183. Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 24. Also see pp. 250-51 of this Volume.

184. **Ibid.** 185. **Ibid.**

> It remains, however, a fact that the Prophet himself planted the seeds from which a wider interest in history was to arise...... History loomed very large in his thinking. His work, on the whole, did much to promote the future growth of Muslim historiography.....[186]

Rosenthal has rightly stated that 'the practical incentive for the study of history was the abundance of historical data in the Quran.'[187] How the study of *Ahadis*, founded on the study of the Quran, stimulated the study of history and scientific research, how it inspired Muslim historians, directly as well as indirectly, and how it promoted the cause of genuine scholarship forms the subject-matter of the next chapter.

Summing up:

We have adduced sufficient evidence to warrant safe conclusions and it is now for the reader to see or ascertain how far the Holy Quran has taken account of the positive qualities of the theories and thoughts outlined in the Chapter on the Modern Concepts of of History. While the thinkers, who have viewed and weighed the facts from their own respective angles of vision, according to their own specific standards and in the light of their own individual experience, are bound to differ in their conclusions, it is indeed curious that some of them have erred either on this or on that extreme—have either under-rated or over-stated a particular factor influencing the historical phenomena.[188] Following the historical method, the Holy Quran has taken all important factors and forces into consideration and given them their due. According to it, the course and contents of history—the rise and fall of civilizations and cultures, societies and states, etc.—are influenced, more or less, by such

186. **Ibid.**, p. 28. 187. **Ibid.**, p. 25.
188. For details see pp. 236, ff. of this Volume.

factors and forces as religious, moral, political, economic, physical, geographical, biological, etc. It has assigned to Divine Will and Divine Plan their proper place and laid adequate emphasis on the Spiritual Force. The rise of Islam itself affords an excellent illustration of the *Challenge and Response* theory, but that is only one of the many causes contributing to its success. The evolution of correct historical sense in the Muslim World, which deserves to be developed, owes its origin to the same source.[189] The place assigned to *Ilm* or knowledge in Islam, the preservation of original text in all its purity, the legislation against wilful suppression of facts and distortion of evidence, the emphasis laid on the verification of evidence before it is accepted or rejected, the appeal to accumulated experience, the invitation to see, think and reflect and draw lessons from history and above all the importance attached to recording and interpreting facts, explaining their *how* and *why* and securing precision and perfection with the help of *Hikmat*, developed the *Sunnah* and the Science of *Ahadis*, stimulated the spirit of scientific enquiry and research, gave birth to the science of biography (*Asma-ur-Rijal*),[190] produced personalities of whom Islam might well be proud and worked a veritable revolution in the life and thought of the people. In short, Islam has viewed the world as a *whole* and the Holy Quran has supplied the best specimen of historiography known to the modern mind: that history should present a view of the *whole*—'the natural universe as well as the living part of the human race'—and that history ought to be written 'collaterally as well as lineally, synthetically as well as analytically' without creating watertight compartments on the bases of culture and civilization.[191]

189. See Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, p. 178.
190. Shibli: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. i, pp. 38-39.
191. Cf. Durant: **The Story of Civilization: Our Oriental Heritage**, Preface, p. vii.

Chapter X

ISLAMIC CONCEPT OF HISTORY

BASED ON ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

Introductory.

What is Islamic Concept? This question must be answered before dealing with the contents of this chapter. It has been stated that not all that the Muslim people have conceived and created need necessarily be Islamic, i.e. in accordance with Islamic Ideology. In a number of cases it is not.[1] The ingenious articulation of evidence in the form of *Hadis* and History by the persons and parties in power in their own favour and against their enemies has been pointed out and it is shown how it was exposed and opposed by the spirited souls then and there in the teeth of opposition[2]. Certain anti-historic and even anti-Islamic tendencies and trends in Islamic History as we have it have been traced and it is pointed out how they were detected and counteracted by true historians under the influence of Islamic Ideology.[3] The idea underlying these attempts was to emphasize the fact that any concept of culture or civilization, state or society, etc., to be *Islamic*, must be based on the principles and precepts of Islam contained in the Holy Quran.[4] This Sacred Scripture has traced and treated the causes and consequences of the rise and fall of nations, laid emphasis on moral and spiritual values and categorically condemned the pre-Islamic culture and civilization as based on *Jahiliyah* or ignorance, because, in spite of its glow, it was Godless.[5] It has

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1. See pp. 92-95 of this Volume. 2. **Ibid.**, pp. 89-90.
3. **Ibid.**, pp. 84, ff. 4. **Ibid.**, pp. 21-22, 24; 9-10.
5. **Ibid.**, pp. 23-24.

furnished the foundations of history and the fundamentals of historical research, stood out as a supreme source of inspiration and stimulated scientific researches in history in the widest sense of the words: *Haq*, *Hidayat*, *Hadis*, *Hikmat*, *Kitab*, *Bayan*, *Tibyan*, *Burhan*, *Hujjat*, *Bashir*, *Nazir*, *Furqan*, *Zikr*, *Tazkirah*, *Tanzil*, *Quran*, *Qasas* and *Nur*.[6] Here in this chapter we will build up Islamic Concept of History on the basis of Islamic Ideology presented in the preceding chapter, develop the theme touched upon but left incomplete for obvious reasons and trace its influence on Muslim Mind and Historical Thought. It is necessary to reiterate that in the Islamic Ideology and the Concept of History built on it *History* and *Religion* go hand in hand and never part company, that the account embodies what a student of history has been able to gather as guidance on his own subject by a serious study of the Holy Quran and that no attempt has been made to interpret the metaphorical verses either generally or with reference to the context.

Sources of Information.

The emphasis laid by Islam on the importance of *ilm* or knowledge has been indicated and the sources of knowledge have been pointed out. The Holy Quran invites all to acquire learning from all available sources. The Holy Prophet made education obligatory for all Muslims—men and women—and advised them to acquire it even if they had to go to China. In other words, no avenue was to be left unexplored so far as search for knowledge was concerned. The main sources of history for Muslim historians were literary works and oral traditions, but the use of non-literary evidence in historical research such as archives and inscriptions, seals and coins was not unknown to them. We know how the letters of Hazrat

6. **Ibid.**, pp. 297, ff. of this Volume.

Muhammad and the treaties he concluded with the Jews and Christians, the State archives, (so freely drawn upon by the State historians and others (as in the case of the Mughal Empire in India), the travellers' accounts and private correspondence, etc. were made use of and how historical conclusions were drawn from architectural and archaeological evidence.[7] According to Rosenthal, 'the use of documents, letters, government papers, official declarations, speeches and related material was well-nigh universal in Muslim historical literature. Where they were not directly quoted, they were extensively used by historians who held positions of political influence when they wrote the history of their periods'[8] So far as epigraphic and numismatic evidence is concerned, the Muslim historians had to face the same difficulties of alphabet and language, etc, with which the modern historians are confronted despite the development of scientific methodology. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Muslim historians could not correctly interpret and employ hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions.[9] Quoting a report regarding the description of an ancient monument in Upper Egypt, Albiruni says that everything was accompanied by an inscription 'to which one now does not have the key.'[10] Dealing with the difficulties of deciphering that ancient inscription, Rosenthal has referred to 'a few cases of an accurate and historical use of inscriptions by Muslim historians:

> These cases concern inscriptions in Arabic. A valuable example in this direction was set by the early historian of Mecca, al-Azraqi. He quoted Meccan building inscriptions which no doubt

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7. **Ibid.**, pp. 237, ff. Also see Jaffar: **Education in Muslim India**, pp. 1, ff., **Islamic Education** in the **Shafi-Presentation Volume**, Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 105, ff.

8. Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 105.

9. **Ibid.**, p. 110. 10. **Ibid.**

were genuine and correctly reproduced. The tradition which was thus inaugurated for the local history of Mecca persisted. In addition to literary sources and the information received from reliable informants as well as the things seen by himself, Mecca's historian in the early fifteenth century mentioned as his sources 'marble and stone monuments and wooden material, which have inscriptions and are found in the places where they belong.' Other local historians also may draw on Arabic inscriptions for exact information, as did Ibn-ush-Shikhnah, who reported that an inscription upon the gate of the Zahiriyah College in Allepo declared the College to be a *waqf* for Shafi'ites and Hanafites. General historians also occasionally reproduced correct readings of Arabic inscriptions, as, for instance, the inscription upon a *minbar* which was made and sent to Mecca in the year 470/1078.[11]

Among the smaller inscribed objects which found the attention of Muslim historians, there were the seal inscriptions. They enter Muslim historical literature from Persian sources. Already al-Haytam bin 'Adi wrote on the seals of the caliphs. The strange story of the fate of the Prophet's simple silver ring with the three-line inscription: Muhammad Rasul Allah, was recounted by the historians. The fact that seal inscriptions were attributed to Persian kings and Greek sages shows their connection with wisdom literature. They soon became a topic of the entertaining and edifying *adab* literature.[12]

The same scholar concludes his account of the use of archives, inscriptions and legends on coins with the statement: 'Thus, even coins were not entirely neglected or missing among the numerous elements which together constituted the contents of Muslim historical works.'[13]

Subject-Matter.

The Holy Quran being the model for Muslim historians, the Quranic Concept of History is that in so far as its scope in respect of the subject-matter is concerned, it is 'all-inclusive' like the scope of the

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11. Ibid., p. 112. 12. Ibid., pp. 12-13. 13. Ibid., p. 113.

Holy Quran, which claims to contain a clear account of all things, omitting nothing and which embodies information of all categories. Consciously or unconsciously, the Muslim Mind was influenced by the study of the Sacred Scripture and the Sunnah, as is evident from the historical literature produced by the writers. Islamic History, as it has come down to us, consists of *Khabar* (information) and *Zikr* or *Tazkarah* (account). It is annalistic—chronological narration called *Tarikh*—, dynastic, local and universal, divided into *Tabaqat* or 'classes in the chronological succession of generations.' It deals with Biography, Genealogy, Geography Cosmography, Geology, Astrology (for *Tarikhat* or Dates), Philosophy including general and personality criticism, Sociology and Political Science, Religion and Art, etc. In other words, all these and other subjects constitute what is called History. History was rightly regarded as a living force, joining the past and the present and forming one continuous process in time.[14]

True Historic Spirit.

The teachings of Islam treating of *Truth*—that evidence should be given in its true colours, that it should not be suppressed or distorted, etc.—found a befitting focus in the hearts of the faithful. While History was systematically abused by interested persons and parties, the true historic spirit was never absent. True Muslims never hesitated to tell the truth even in the face of the forces of evil arrayed against them. Instances to illustrate this true historic spirit are not few and we cannot incorporate them all in this short account, but one instance, which is typical, must be cited in support of the said statement. After the tragedy of Karbala when the true

14. **Ibid.**, pp. 77, ff., 87, ff.

facts were systemetically suppressed and maliciously misrepresented by the party in power, the family of the Holy Prophet (*Ahl-i-Bait*) *in* general and Ali *bin* Husain, popularly called Zain-ul-Abidin on account of his piety, and Zainab, daughter of Ali *bin* Abu Talib in particular, exposed the evildoers and their misdeeds. History has preserved their inspiring and illuminating *Khutbas*. But for their true historic spirit and sacrifices for the cause of truth, we would have had fiction and not facts in the form of history,[15] so far as the history of that period is concerned.

Universal Activity.

The Law of Change or Universal Activity, referred to in the Holy Quran, was detected and dealt with by Ibn Maskawaih, Albiruni, Ibn Khaldun, etc. as already noted.[16] Rumi, whose Masnawi is looked upon as a masterpiece of Islamic literature, also dealt with the topic in his own way. According to him, the world presents itself anew every moment (change), human life is like a running stream of which the water that has once passed will not pass the same point again (change), and what looks like a continuous movement actually consists of so many changes representing links and breaks or births and deaths or the fire-circle formed by forcefully flashing around a burning torch.[17] The position is suitably summed up by a

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15. See Jaffar : **Husain : The Hero of Humanity**, and **Falsafa-i-Shahadat** in the **Zibh-i-Azim**; Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 250, 302.

16. For details see pp. 40, ff. of this Volume.

17. The verses, of which the translation is given above, are:

هر نفس نو مے شود دنیا و ما — بے خبر از نو شدن اندر بقا
عمر همچوں جوئے نو نو مے رسد — مستمرے مے نماید در جسد
آں ز تیزی مستمر شکل آمدست — چوں شرر کش تیز جنبانی بدست
شاخ آتش را بجنبانی بساز — در نظر آتش نماید کس دراز

Rumi : **Masnawi**, Hakim : **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, pp. 64-66.

scholar in a single sentence: 'No one can dive twice in the same waters of a running stream.'[18] Allama Iqbal has expressed the same idea in two couplets, which mean:

> The state of being static is impossible in
> the workshop of Nature.
> Change alone is everlasting in the world.
> Stability and permanence are mere illusions.
> Every atom of the Universe is in motion.

Time and Space.

How Muslim historians were inspired and influenced by the Quranic concept of time and space is borne out by the evidence adduced in connection with the Evolution of Historical Sense in the East already dealt with. A few more instances are cited here to confirm the conclusion based thereon:

History refers to events which are peculiar to a particular age or race.[20]

History gives information about what *once* took place in the *world.*[21]

The object of history is man and time.[22]

The adaptation of men to their time (is history).[23]

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18. Quoted by Hakim in his **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, p. 65.

19. The verses translated above are as follows:

سکوں محال ہے قدرت کے کارخانے میں — ثبات ایک تغیر کو ہے زمانے میں
فریب نظر ہے سکون و ثبات — تڑپتا ہے ہر زرہ کائنات

K. G. Saiyidain: **Progressive Trends in Iqbal's Thought** in **Iqbal as a Thinker**, p. 84; Hakim: **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, p. 65.

20. Ibn Khaldun: **Muqaddima** quoted by Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 14.

21. Al-Maqrizi quoted. **Ibid.** 22. As-Sakhawi quoted. **Ibid.**
23. Al-Yaqubi quoted. **Ibid.**

According to Jalal-ud-din Rumi (Maulana-i-Rum), Time and Space are *aboslute* so far as the spiritual world is concerned and *relative* so far as the physical world is concerned. The division of time into past, present and future is arbitrary and relative: The present becomes past and the future becomes present in a moment. It is relative in the same way as the relationship of an individual with different persons: A is father of B, son of C, etc. The division of space is likewise arbitrary and relative· What is upper story for a man on the ground floor is a lower story for a man on the uppermost story. The theory of relativity now established by Einstein in the light of science and logic and by Iqbal in the light of the Quran was initiated by Rumi.[24]

Unity and Universality

We have seen how the Holy Quran has laid adequate emphasis on Unity and Universality, how it has viewed the whole collectively as one organism and not separately in parts—States, Society, Culture, Civilization, etc.—, how it has viewed the world-process as the product of many factors and forces—physical, geographical, economic, racial, religious, social, political, etc.—, which it has dealt with and drawn conclusions from, and how it has aimed at universal

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24. Rumi's views presented above are based on these verses :

لا مکانے که درو نور خدا ست — ماضی و مستقبل و حالش کجا ست
ماضی و مستقبلش لسبت بتو ست — هردو یک چیزند و پنداری که دوست
یک تنی او را پدر ما را پسر — بام زیر زید و بر عمرو زبر
لسبت زیر و زبر شد زیں دو کس — سقفسوئے خویش یک چیزاست وبس
لیست مثل آں مثال است ایں سخن — قاصر از معنئی نو حرف کہن

Rumi : **Masnawi** ; Hakim : **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, pp. 239-40 ; M. R. Siddiqi : **Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space**, Vide **Iqbal as a Thinker**, pp. 1, ff.

history far above world-history[25]. This forms the foundation of the concept that history is a collective and creative, continuous and complete record of the past, the present and the future, although in actual practice it is as much of that account as has been brought on record, as well as of the view that the separation of part from the whole renders both of them deficient and defective. Influenced by the teachings of the Holy Quran, Maulana-i-Rum has dealt with the Unity of Existence as well as with the link between the full and the fragment. He has however, exposed the difference between the spiritual and physical phenomena by contrast. He says:

> The part, when cut off from the whole, becomes useless
> Just as a limb becomes useless when it is severed from body.
> As long as it is not united with the whole once again,
> It is dead and unconscious of itself.
> Even if it moves, it is not sure of its own motion.
> After all, the freshly severed limb also flutters.
> The part of this whole, when cut off, goes aside.
> But this *Whole* is not such as may become deficient.
> Its severance and re-union cannot be reduced to narrative.
> Something deficient is stated just as an illustration.[26]

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25. See pp. 237, ff. of this Volume.

26. The relevant verses of Maulana-i-Rum are as follows :

جزو از کل قطع شد بیکار شد — عضو از تن قطع شد مردار شد

تا نه پیوندد به کل بار دگر — مرده باشد نبودش از جان خبر

ور بجنبد نیست خود او را سند — عضو نو بریده هم جنبش کند

جزو این کل گر برد یکسو شود — این نه آن کل است کو ناقص شود

قطع و وصل او نیاید در مقال — چیز ناقص گفته شد بهر مثال

Rumi : **Masnawi**; Hakim : **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, p. 260.

History: As Subject.

According to the Islamic Concept, based on Islamic Ideology, History is a separate subject, a distinct discipline. It is Narrative, Science, Philosophy and Art including Intuition and Insight, the principal processes involved being simple and mechanical at the initial or early stage, systematic and scientific at the secondary stage, intellectual and philosophic at the still higher stage, and artistic and intuitive at the highest or final stage. The Holy Quran is the best specimen of such a combination and at such levels. It is aptly called *Al-Hakim*, because it is full of *Hikmat* or wisdom, illuminating all aspects of knowledge,— Science, Philosophy and Art. This will be evident from the ensuing account.

Qasas: Narration.

Human experience is contained in and communicated through *qasas* or stories. The Holy Quran is full of stories. According to At-Talabi, 'God's wisdom in telling Muhammad the stories of the Prophets of the past and of by-gone peoples had several aspects:

(1 — Those stories) are a clear indication and proof of Muhammad's prophetical vocation.... He had no tutor or teacher. He never left his country long enough to go to a scholar from whom he might have learnt those stories. Those among his compatriots who were intelligent thought about it, and they realized that it was the result of divine revelation. They, therefore, believed in Muhammad and trusted him. It was one of the miracles which confirmed his prophetical vocation.

(2 — Those stories) serve as an incentive to imitate their heroes in all those things for which they found God's praise and, on the other hand, they serve as a warning against the actions which God censured.[27]

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27. See pp. 156, 158-59 of this Volume.

(3 — Those stories) serve to confirm Muhammad's (position) and to make known his glory and that of his people. He and his people were spared many afflictions which those before them had suffered.

(4 — Those stories) serve to improve and educate his people. This was indicated in the following verses of the Quran: 'Signs for those who ask.' — 'And a lesson for the understanding.' — 'And an exhortation for those who fear God.' In this sense Ash-Shibli used to say regarding those verses: 'The common people occupy themselves with listening to stories, the elite, on the other hand, with learning from them.[28]

(5 — Those stories) serve to revive the memory and the deeds of their heroes. This constitutes a stimulus for the righteous to increase their activities, since they may hope for a speedy reward and the perpetuation of their memory and good deeds. Such was the desire of the 'Friend of God', Ibrahim, when he said: 'And prepare for me truthful speech among posterity.'

People are (=live on as) tales. It was thus said: 'No one is dead whom memory keeps alive' and: 'The kings and the rich spent money on buildings, fortresses, and castles only for the perpetuation of their memory.'

A tale is all a person leaves behind.
Strive that your tale be known as good and kind.[29]

Such is the importance of stories. Commenting upon the above-quoted remarks of At-Talabi, As-Sakhawi says:

I say: Look at the traditions, and you will find in them many instances that illustrate the afore-mentioned (remarks) of At-Talabi."[30]

An-Nu'man *bin* Sabit, popularly known as Abu Hanifah and Imam-i-Azam, was one of the famous four *Imams* of the Sunni Sect. Speaking about the stories, he said:

I like stories about scholars and their good qualities and actions better than a good deal of jurisprudence. Those stories educate the people.[31]

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28. At Talabi quoted by As Sakhawi in his I'lan. See Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 220.
29. **Ibid.**, pp. 220-21. 30. **Ibid.**, p. 221. 31. **Ibid.**, p. 242.

The Holy Quran is called *Ahsan-ul-Hadis* and *Zikr-ul-Hakim* by God Himself.[32] Influenced by the Quranic concept of *qasas* or stories, many a Muslim scholar, including Maulana-i-Rum, has copied the Quranic method of illustrating ideas and ideals, and propounding principles and precepts with the help of suitable stories and anecdotes.[33] It should be noted, however, that over-all emphasis was laid not so much on the factual information contained in the stories as such as on the spiritual values and moral lessons they were intended to convey. Like *Aesop's Fables*, they were employed as instruments to achieve the ends in view. In other words, contents were considered as more important than containers. Hafiz of Shiraz has expressed the same idea in a couple of verses which mean that the stories are like weighing-scale and the meaning or message they embody as the grain weighed.[34] According to some scholars, the Quran has quoted *qasas* also for the same purpose: It has singled out select sections of specific stories with higher ends in view. Clever writers conveyed correct information allegorically when they could not do so expressly and openly for various reasons. In such cases, real names were replaced by fictitious ones and birds and animals were substituted for human characters. The *Penguin Island* by Anatole France may be cited as an instance of allegorical expression of the historical phenomena which

32. **Al-Quran**, iii: 58, xxxix: 23.

33. Such stories are narrated under the caption **Hikayat**, which is a striking feature of almost all literary works produced by Muslim scholars.

34. The verses, of which the gist is stated above, are:

اے برادر قصہ چوں پیمانہ ایست — معنی اندر وے مثال دانہ ایست

دانہ معنی بگیرد مرد عقل — ننگرد پیمانہ را گر گشت نقل

See Hakim : **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, pp. 283-85.:

otherwise, might have remained enshrouded in obscurity. We are familiar with such code words as *Rumuz o Ishara* of the Mughal Period and cypher or the system of secret-writing of our own times.[35]

Difference Between Hearsay & Ocular Evidence.

In the following passage of one of his *Khutbas* preserved in the *Nahj-ul-Balaghat*, Ali Ibn Abu Talib has thrown penetrating light on the far-reaching implications of evidence and pointed out the difference between hearsay and ocular testimony:

> O' people! If you are sure of the honesty and integrity of your brethren, ignore the hearsay evidence against them. Sometimes the arrow misses the mark and a mountain is made of a mere mole. What is wrong will vanish automatically. God is all-hearing and all-knowing. Note that there is a distance of only four fingers between Right and Wrong. (When requested to explain what he meant by that, he put his four fingers together between his eye and ear and said:) Whatever you say you have **heard** is wrong and whatever you say you have **seen** is true.[36]

Intermingling of Truth & Falsehood.

Equally illuminating are the ideas of Hazrat Ali on the intermingling of truth and falsehood in the formation of evidence. According to him, selfishness is the source of sin and suffering. He says:

> Sufferings spring from selfish desires which are followed and from the innovations which are opposed to the Quran. To give vent to them some people make common cause and help one another. *If falsehood had been free from the tinges of truth, it would not have remained hidden from the searchers and if truth had turned out to be free from the filth of falsehood, the hostile tongues would have remained quiet. But what happens is this*:

35. Nadvi : **Muqaddima Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri**, Vol. I, p. 22, Sarkar : **Mughal Administration**, p. 234. Love letters written in allegorical style are too common to call for comments.

36, **Nahj-ul-Balaghat** (J.H.), **Khutba** 139, Vol. ii, p. 49.

Something is taken from this side and something from that side and the two are mixed up with each other. On such an occasion the Satan (devil) prevails upon his friends and only such people *escape evil* as are endowed by God with the capacity to do good.[37]

It follows from this that all human beings in general and the historians in particular must transcend self-centredness in the matter of evidence.

Taqdir: Predestination: Qaza-o-Qadar: Causation.

Was all that has happened (history) predestined ? Was it preordained in the sense that it was irreversible and therefore bound to take place? We have referred to the Islamic Conception of *Taqdir* and pointed out its true significance. Here is an authentic exposition of the doctrine embodied in an answer which Ali Ibn Abu Talib gave to one of his followers who had fought at Siffin and enquired whether the decree of God (*Qaza-o-Qadar*) had led them to Syria:

Perhaps you consider predestination to be necessary and the particular decree to be irreversible; if it were so, then would reward and punishment be vain, and the promise and the threat would be of no account; and surely blame would not have come from God for the sinner nor praise for the righteous, nor would the righteous be more worthy of the reward of his good deeds than the wicked, nor the wicked be more deserving of the punishment of his sin than the righteous. Such a remark (savours) of the brethren of devils and the worshippers of idols and of the enemies of the Merciful and of those who bear witness to falsehood and of those that are blind to the right in their concerns — such as the fatalists and the Magians of this church. God hath ordained the giving of choice (to men) and forbidden the putting (of them) in fear; and He hath not laid duties upon men by force, nor sent His Prophets in sport. This is the notion of unbelievers, and woe unto the unbelievers in hell! (Then asked the old man: What is this predestination and particular decree which drove us? He answered :) The command of God therein and His purpose. (Then he repeated the verse:) The Lord hath ordained (predestined) that ye

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37. Nahj-ul-Balaghat (J. H.), Vol. i, p. 187.

worship none but Him, and kindness to your parents.[38]

Hazrat Hasan, the son and successor of Hazrat Ali, summed up the position in one of his letters to the people of Basra in the following sentence:-

> Whoever makes His Lord responsible for his sin is a transgressor; God does not make people obey Him against their will, nor force them to sin against their will.[39]

Hikmat : Hunar : Wisdom.

The Arabic equivalent for practical wisdom is *Hikmat* which covers science, philosophy and art including intuition and insight. The Holy Quran, which is model for all Muslims for all times, is called Al-Hakim — full of such *Hikmat* or wisdom —, because it aims at precision and perfection (science), attempts to answer the questions *how* and *why* and eliminates *chance* (philosophy), and explains the intricacies of human nature and the puzzling problems of mankind at different levels (art). History is science when it is systematized and brought into line with laws and when it is employed for mechanical and methodical use. It is philosophy when it resorts to reason and argument, when it treats of the law of cause and effect or causation, and when it finds and formulates its own principles and precepts. It is art when it undertakes to explain the acts of individuals and historical phenomena with the help of experience which is acquired and intuition or insight which is inherent. The Holy Quran has treated the *Qasas* or stories (History in the ordinary sense) scientifically, philosophically and artistically, and it is for this reason that it is called *Burhan* or Argument, *Hujjat* or proof, *Furqan* or Criterion and *Hikmat* or wisdom.

38. **Nahj-ul-Balaghat** (A. N.), Vol. ii pp. 1110-12. Passage translated by Amir Ali in **The Spirit of Islam**, p. 492.

39. Quoted by Amir Ali in **The Spirit of Islam**, p. 493.

Therefore, the Quranic or Islamic Concept of History is that it is science, philosophy and art or *Hikmat* in the wide sense of the word. The Holy Prophet declared *Hikmat* as 'the lost property of the believer' (الحکمۃ ضالۃ المومن)[40] and it follows that it has to be recovered and made proper use of. Ali *Ibn* Abu Talib emphasized its importance when he repeated this *Hadis* and asserted that it should be picked up or gathered from all available sources without discrimination.[41] Viewing and weighing the works of Ibn Maskawaih, Albiruni, Ibn Khaldun and others in the light of Islamic Ideology presented in the preceding chapter, one can easily trace the influence of Islam and the source of inspiration — the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah* — in the meaning of history, the method of treatment, the scope of the subject and the character of contents. Rumi and Iqbal have referred to the afore-quoted *Hadis* of the Holy Prophet and drawn upon the Holy Quran in dealing with *Hikmat* in their own works.[42]

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40. **Hadis** quoted by A. Hakim in his **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, p. 232. Also see **Nahj-ul-Balaghat** (A. N.) p. 1112.

41. **Nahj-ul-Balaghat**, Maxims 76-78, p. 1112. In Maxim 78 the word **Hikmat** is used in the sense of Art and translated in Persian as **Hunar**. (Ibid.).

42. The relevant verses are reproduced hereunder :

اشترے گم کردی و جستیش چست — چون بیابی چون ندانی کان ز تست
ضاله چه بود ناقهٔ گم کردهٔ — از کفت بگر یختہ در پردهٔ

Rumi: **Masnawi**. quoted by Hakim in **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, pp. 232-35.
Rumi's insistence on **Hikmat** is evident from following verses :

طالب حکمت شو از مرد حکیم — تا ازو گردی تو بینا د علیم
منبع حکمت شود حکمت طلب — فارغ آید او ز تحصیل و سبب

Rumi : **Masnawi**, Hakim: **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, p. 59.

گفت حکمت را خدا خیر کثیر — هر کجا این خیر را بینی بگیر

Iqbal quoted : **Iqbal as a Thinker**, pp. 4-5

Art of Interpretation.

History deals with Humanity and we have seen how different persons have reacted differently to the same forces and factors at the same time and in the same conditions. Moses and Pharaoh, Husain and Yazid are the instances in point. We know also that the best of faiths have had the worst of followers and that persons born of the same parents possess different beliefs and bents of mind, tastes and temperaments, habits and hobbies, *etc.*[43] This is due to many factors which contribute to what are called the intricacies of human nature. It is a truism, therefore, that in its ultimate analysis History is an art because it deals with the bewildering complexities of human nature, which cannot be reduced to a set of mathematical *formulae*; and in the final stages it requires penetrating inner vision, close knowledge, extensive experience and disciplined imagination, based on systematic study and sustained sympathy, prolonged practice and perfect patience. It is, in short, the art of interpreting facts or events, called *Tawil-il-Ahadith* in the Holy Quran.[44] Allama Yusuf Ali has contributed a long article on this topic and the following passage is quoted from that :

> The glimpses of the spiritual Joseph, as I understand them, in the Quran, are afforded us 'in order that we may learn wisdom.' Stories, events, visions, dreams, seem all to be assimilated under the Arabic word *Ahadith*. The real ones among them (as opposed to futile fancies) have all an inner meaning. It is only given to a few choicer spirits to understand and expound them. Joseph was one of these choicer spirits. From his boyhood he had an inner vision which he treasured up in his mind. Its meaning — or full meaning — only dawned on him afterwards. When it did, he was able to fulfil his mission in life.[45]

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43. See pp.129, ff. of this Volume. 44. Ibid., pp. 313-14.
45. Yusuf Ali : **Translation of the Holy Quran**, p. 592.

That this intuition, insight or vision (*Ilm-ul-I adunni*) is Godgiven (Gift from God) is evident from the following verses :

> O' my Lord ! (said Joseph) You have indeed bestowed on me some power, and taught me something of the interpretation of *Hadis* (events, etc.) .... Such is one of the news (stories) of what happened unseen, (said Allah), which We reveal by inspiration to you ....[46]

Intellect and Insight.

The part played by intellect and insight in the understanding and interpretation of history has been dealt with in its proper place.[47] The place assigned to these two faculties in Islam is yet to be determined. *Hazrat* Ali bin Abu Talib, ' the Gate of Knowledge,' who was the greatest authority on the interpretation of the Quran next only to the Prophet, supplied the following statements on the subject :

> When you receive a *khabar* (news or report), go deep into it by way of caution and contemplation and not merely by way of narration verbatim, because the narrators of knowledge (story-tellers) are many but those who go deep into it are very few.[48]

> There are two intellects, the one (given) by nature, and the other (acquired) by studying. The latter is of no use where the former is lacking.[49]

That given by God (intuition or insight) differs with different persons, the greatest being the privilege of the Prophets. Rumi also dealt with this delicate question and expressed his views: According to him, there are several stages of intellect as found in matter, plant, animal, human being and

46. **Ibid.**, xii: 101-02. 47. See pp. 129, ff. of this Volume.

48. **Nahj-ul-Balaghat,** (A.N.), Vol. ii, Maxim 94, p. 1120.

49. **Ibid.**, Maxim 331, pp. 1235-36. Quoted by Al-Ghazali in his **Ahya-ul-Ulum** and As-Sakhawi in his **I'lan**. Vide Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, pp. 216, 230.

Prophet. He regards the difference between Human Vision and Prophetic Vision as that between body and soul or that between skin and substance.[50] Muslim historians took note of this difference and made allowance for it. They were also alive to the fact that 'history increases man's intellectual capacity.' In this connection Amir Ali's observations on 'Inward Light' or *Ilm-i-Ladunni* will be found exceedingly illuminating :

It must not be supposed that al-Ghazzali was the first preacher of 'inward light' in Islam. Intuitive knowledge of God (*ta'rruf*) is inherent in the Faith. The intent (*niyyat*) of approach (*kurbat*) to and communion with Him is the essential preliminary to true devotion; the 'Ascension' (the *mi'raj*) of the Prophet meant the absolute communion of the finite with the Infinite. Not only does God speak to the hearts of men and women who in earnest sincerity seek divine help and guidance, but all knowledge is from the Supreme Intelligence; it comes to the Prophets by direct revelation (وحی) and often 'The sacrament of the heart' is conveyed by Him to His chosen few, *fi-sirrat-i-kalbi*, (فی سرۃ قلبی) without an intermediary. This in Islam is called *'Ilmi-ladunni*. It is referred to in the Koran, where it says. 'We taught him (His chosen servant) knowledge from Ourself.'[51] The same conception of intimate communion with God occurs in the well-known *hadis*, where the Almighty says. 'My earth and My heaven contain Me not, but the heart of My faithful servant containeth Me.' And the Divine promise finds a responsive note in the human heart when it is uplifted in prayer:

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50. The ideas outlined above are embodied in these verses :

بند معقولات آمد فلسفی — شهسوار عقل عقل آمد صفی

عقل عقلت مغز و عقل تست پوست — معدهٔ حیوان همیشه پوست جوست

Rumi : **Masnawi**; Hakim : **Tashbihat-i-Rumi**, pp. 368-69.

51. The Arabic text of the Quranic verse containing a mention of **Ilm-ul-Ladunni** or Inward Knowledge is as follows : و علمنٰهٗ من لدنا علماً **Al-Quran**, xviii : 65. For the quotation see Amir Ali : **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 457-58.

'The Almighty God hears whatever prayers (lit. praises) I offer Him. O my Lord, I thank Thee.'[52]

The same transcendentalism is to be found in other traditions; and Ali discourses on the inward light in his sermons; Fatima-taz-Zahra, 'Our Lady of Light,' dwells on it in her preachings; and it finds ecstatic expression in the prayers of the grandson of Ali, the son of Husain the Martyr. But nowhere in these earliest records of the conception of 'Inward Light' is there any ground for the suggestion that either the Prophet or the direct inheritors of his spiritual heritage ever preached the abandonment of the affairs of the world in the pursuit of Truth, or the observance of asceticism which is so strongly reprobated.[53]

It is stated, not without authority, that Ali and other Imams of his House 'possessed in a superlative degree the *Ilm-ul-Ladunni* "Inward Knowledge," referred to above.[54] According to Junaid and As-Sarraj, Ali would have imparted to humanity 'the vast measure of the *Ilm-ul-Ladunni* with which he was endowed' if he had not been involved in so many wars.[55] Imam Ja'far As-Sadiq, the sixth Imam of that House occupies the first place in the list of mystic saints prepared by Farid-un-din Attar and

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52. Amir Ali has based the above passage on the **Nahj-ul-Balaghat**, the **Lum'at-ul-Baiza** and the **Sahifa-i-Kamila**. See **The Spirit of Islam**, p. 458.

53. Amir Ali : **The Spirit of Islam,** p. 458.

54. **Al-Luma'** of Abu Nasr As-Sarraj quoted. **Ibid.**, p. 460

55. Attar's **Tazkirat-ul-Aulia** (Biography of Saints) quoted. **Ibid.**, p. 460, note 5. Ali was always out to bestow the benefit of this knowledge on all seekers of truth. His open invitation was as follows: "O people! Ask me any question before I am no more amidst you I am aware of the paths of heaven more than those of the earth." **Vide Nahj-ul-Balaghat** (J. H.), Vol. ii, pp. 178-79). Ali always answered the questions of all to their entire satisfaction. Time and again he solved the problems of Hazrat Umar and received the recognition: "But for Ali, Umar would have been no more." Others, who advanced false claims, met with miserable failures. See Ja'far Husain's notes **(Ibid.)**; M. Tabari : **Riaz-ul-Nuzrat**, Part ii, Chapter ix, Section vi, p. **194**, and Sibt Ibn-ul-Jauzi : **Tazkirah Khwas-ul-Ummat**, p. **36**.

inserted in his work. 'It is worthy of note,' says Amir Ali, 'that in the case of almost every Sufi saint the line of spiritual descent is traced back to Ali and through him to the Prophet.' Equally remarkable is the absence of evidence to the effect that the Twelve Imams (*Asna-Ashar*) had ever attended any *Maktab* or *Madrasah* except that of Muhammad and learnt anything from anyone outside their own House: On the other hand, there is ample authentic evidence to the effect that they readily solved with their Inward Knowledge (*Ilm-ul-Ladunni*) the knotty problems presented to them by the persons in power and had such scholars among their students as Imam-i-Azam and such admirers outside their own House as Imam Shafe'i.[56]

Standardization of Language.

For purposes of precision and accurate expression it was necessary to standardize the meanings of idioms and expressions, terminology and technology employed in connection with the presentation and interpretation of facts. Nothing could afford better guidance than the Holy Quran:

> The *Kur'an* has yet another aspect in which it influenced the course of the literary language, namely its miraculous unsurpassable excellence. The literary Arab celebrities admitted impotence before its challenge, and Muslims down the ages looked up to it as their literary guide and linguistic authority. The study of the secrets of Kur'anic eloquence (*i'djaz*) has given Arabic literary criticism a special approach and a wealth of material.[57]

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56. See Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam**, pp. 351-52. For Imam Shafei's **Qasida** in praise of Ali and his House see **Aimma-i-Arba'**.

57. See **Arabia** in the **Encyclopaedia of Islam** and also M. Khalafallah: **Quranic Studies as an Important Factor in the Development of Arabic Literary Criticism.**

Ideal Historian.

The nature of historian's work, summarily stated above, shows what the historian should be by character and qualifications. The ideal to be pursued has been described and the model to be followed has been prescribed.[58] It is conceded that the ideal will not be attained and the model will not be matched, but it is emphatically asserted that those gifted with a vision with which they can view the whole — past, present and future — in all its forms and phases, an intuition and insight to penetrate the problems confronting mankind, and a feeling to experience the *become* with the aid of the *becoming*, and also equipped with other essential qualifications, can interpret *History* correctly according to the Islamic Concept of History. It is a matter of common experience that these qualities of head and heart are not within the reach of all.[58] Those partially gifted with them rise above the rest and those excelling them form a class by themselves — *Ahl-az-Zikr* and *Rasikhuna-fil-ilm* or those firmly-grounded in knowledge—meant for the guidance of mankind.[59] The goal being the same, fundamentally, the true historians' approach to truth cannot but lead to or towards the same point. If it does not, it is an indication that the historians are wanting in essential qualities and qualifications.[60]

History Versus Nature.

It must be noted, however, that History is different from Nature, as already explained. The former is concerned with feelings and facts, intuition

58. See pp. 131-237, ff. of this Volume. Also see **Al-Quran**, xii: 101, xviii: 65 for **Tawil-il-Ahadis** and **Ilm-ul-Ladunni** respectively as gifts from God.

69. **Al-Quran**, iii: 7, xvi: 43, xxi: 7.

60. Cf. Sachau : **Albiruni's India**, pp. 2, ff.

and experience, whereas the latter with physical phenomena and experimentation. Efficiency in the one is inherent and in the other acquired. There is lot of truth in the statement that the nature-researcher is *educated* but the man of history is *born*, and that the latter accomplishes his work 'guided by a feeling which cannot be acquired by learning or affected by persuation' and which finds full expression only too rarely.[61] In other words, the historian must be equipped with what is called *poetic* or *prophetic vision* by Toynbee and what was described as *philosophic vision* by Ibn Maskawaih.[62] This being so, every-one cannot become an historian. The best of education and experience, training and hard work cannot make him so just in the same way as a man with all his talents and toil, knowledge of technique and training cannot become a Prophet, and a Prophet with all his vision and wisdom cannot become God. According to the Holy *Quran*, every Muslim is a student of history (not historian) in that it is his duty to learn and teach the truth. For him the model is the Prophet or his successor and for the Prophet the model is Allah — the All-Knowing.[63]

Human Limitations.

An historian is a human being, made of flesh and blood, not of iron and stone, and has his own shortcomings in common with his fellow-beings — self-centredness included. He cannot detach himself completely from the whole of which he forms a part.[64] In fact he ought not, for in that case he will not feel and find what he intends to record as an historian. But, certainly, he can suppress his selfishness and

61. Spengler: **The Decline of the West**, Vol. i, p. 102.

62. See pp. 41-42, 132-34 of this Volume. 63. **Ibid.**, p. 292.

64. Toynbee: **An Historian's Approach to Religion**, pp. 6-7.

also transcend his self-centredness and do justice as an impartial judge even against his own inclinations and interests. As he lives in the world inhabited by people of diverse races and religions, castes and colours, habits and hobbies, tastes and temperaments, etc., he has got to be peaceful and patient. This is what tolerance implies, otherwise it will be nothing short of hypocrisy and hallucination.[65] No one will be prepared to execute his own son for an offence committed by him, but history has preserved a number of instances to affirm the truth that transcends self-centredness.[66] The historian has to cultivate and develop a high sense of justice and a very broad spirit of tolerance. He has to record facts faithfully and fearlessly even if they are against his own personal interests. The world has not been without such historians, though their number is very limited. It is true that the historian cannot reach the standard prescribed in the light of Islamic Ideology, but he must do what he can, for, according to the Holy Quran, he is not expected to do what he cannot do: 'God has not imposed on any soul a burden which it cannot bear.'[67] It should not be taken to mean, however, that anyone can undertake to write history according to his education and ability. In such a case, one can easily anticipate the consequences that will follow. One should not, therefore, raise one's pen to write history unless one possesses the necessary qualifications, both acquired and inherent.[68]

History and Religion.

History cannot do without Religion which supplies the fundamentals of historical knowledge and

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65. Jaffar: **Tolerance in Islam** in **The Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.**

66. **Ibid.** 67. **Al-Quran,** ii: 286, vii: 42, xxiii :63.

68. See **supra**, pp. 114, 125, ff.

research, including Unity, in the same way as Religion cannot do without History which is at the root of all arts and sciences, philosophies and cultures and which shows the right path.[69] While the Holy Quran has adopted the Historical Method and Muslim saints and savants have followed the example, historians have always kept religious ideals before them, though they may have deflected from them in a number of cases.[70] It is not surprising at all that most of the Muslim historians were primarily profound religious scholars and history or *ilm-ut-tarikh was siyar* was regarded as 'one of the religious and literary sciences'.[71] According to Ibn Hazm, History 'follows theological disciplines' and 'belongs to the sciences of the Muslim religious law.'[72] According to Rosenthal, once 'a Muslim historian correctly remarked as follows: When the country was full of good and noble men, God appointed a historian who would tell their noble deeds and qualities, but when they were no longer and only mean persons remained, mercifully there also was no longer a historian to be found'.[73] It is evident that true historians (religious scholars with good knowledge of history) could flourish only in the country inhabited by good and noble men. Acquaintance with such scholars was stressed by an expert in these words: 'The knowledge of the details of the life (*ahwal*) of (religious) scholars graces students and scholars, and ignorance of them disgraces them. All those who are (intellectually) awake know that the knowledge of that subject leads to greatly improved standards, while ignorance in this respect is one of the

69. **Ibid.**, pp. 7-8. 70. **Ibid.**, pp. 145, ff.

71. Al-Amuli quoted. Rosenthal : **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 36.

72. Ibn Hazm : **Maratib-ul-Ulum** quoted, **Ibid.**, p. 34.

73. *Ibid.*, *p. 37.*

reasons of baleful incompetence. Those scholars are the keepers of religion which is the foundation of enduring happiness.....An acquaintance with those scholars is an acquaintance with models that are most worthy of imitation....Now, the relationship of a scholar to his pupil is like the relationship between father and son; in fact, it is something more sacred. A pupil who does not know his teacher is like the son who does not know his father; in fact, he is even more wrong'.[74] Religion was, in short, at the top as well as at the bottom of all history.

History: A Living Force.

History is a dynamic force, but for which the universe would have been deaf and dumb, dull and dead; or without which, at any rate, humanity would have lagged far behind the stage it has reached along the path of progress. Therefore, there is no denying the fact that no one can afford to lose interest in *history* without first losing interest in life. History is life. The body of history is evidence, spoken and written, of all categories, put together in such a way as to present a perfect picture; and the soul of history is the meaning or message which that evidence contains and conveys. The two together constitute what is life—*history*.[75] Rightly recorded and accurately interpreted, it is an integral part of religion and an article of faith. A good man is what he is mainly because of history, which teaches him to be truthful and tolerant, just and honest. It trains him in tackling the problems of this complicated world fairly and squarely. He can always draw upon it in his difficulties and it will never let him down. Armed with it, he can fight

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74. **As-Sakhawi** quoted. **Ibid.**, p. 234.

75. Cf. Croce: **The Theory and History of Historiography**, p. 24. Also see pp. 202-3 of this Volume. The word 'Soul' is conspicuous by its absence in **The Encyclopaedia Britannica**.

against odds and win the battles of his life. It makes him alert, realistic and practical. It fortifies his faith in God and inculcates in him the worship of God and the service of humanity. One of the great lessons which he ought to draw from it and make the motto of his life is that he should neither deceive nor be deceived by others.[76]

History of Ahadis.

The importance of *Ahadis*, as the corner-stone of Islamic Ideology, next only to the Holy Quran, has been outlined in the previous chapter. Both directly and indirectly, they contributed incalculably to the cause of historical research and building up Islamic Concept of History. Unlike the Holy Quran, however, the *Ahadis* (traditions) have suffered heavily at the hands of the human pest and they must be sifted before they could be relied upon as authentic evidence.[77] Apart from personal prejudices, political power and party affiliations, which are largely responsible for intentional omissions and exaggerations, deliberate distortions and forced interpolations, glaring forgeries and fabrications, the possibility of mis-stating or mis-quoting a fact, a statement or a saying unconsciously or inadvertently could not be ruled out. Sometimes, for instance, the sayings of the Apostle of Allah were not rightly understood and therefore they were not rightly reported. In the course of transmission also the sayings and statements suffered a serious change in substance and spirit, sense and significance, so much so that authorities like Imam Malik could not decide whether a particular fact was stated by the Prophet in this way or that, whether he meant this, that or something else. In fact, they used to tremble

76. This is based on the writer's personal experience.

77. Waliullah : **Hujjat-ullah-ul-Baligha,** Vol. i, p. 628 ; and Shibli : **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. i., pp. 66-67.

with fear while dealing with doubtful and disputed cases.[78] The interested persons and parties also fished in the troubled waters without any qualms of conscience. The situation became so alarming in course of time that it became imperative to subject the entire collection of *Ahadis* to scientific scrutiny with a view to correct codification. Such scrutiny and scientific codification were inspired by the Quranic teaching that *hadis* must be checked up and verified with due regard to the personal character of the reporter before it is accepted or rejected.[79] The exposition of the subject by Ali bin Abu Talib supplied the necessary guidance and acted as authority for all other experts.

Ali's Guidance.

The answer of Ali Ibn Abu Talib to the question put to him by a man about the forged and fictitious, contradictory and conflicting traditions, stated to be then current, stood out as a tower of light for all experts in *Ahadis* and formed the foundation of the fundamentals of the new discipline. In view of its importance it may be reproduced in extenso:

> The traditions that are current among the people are based on right and wrong, truth and falsehood. They include those which cancelled others as well as those which had been cancelled. They are general and special, authentic and apocryphal, free from doubt and full of conjectures and guess-work. There is no doubt that some people attributed falsehood (lies) to the Apostle of Allah in his lifetime to such an extent that he stood up to deliver a *Khutba* and said: 'One who intentionally attributes falsehood (lies) to me should know that his resting-place is hell.'[80] Those who narrate the traditions form four categories, there being no fifth class of the kind.

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78. Shibli : **Sirat-un-Nahi**, Vol. i, p. 79.

79. **Al-Quran**, xlix : 6. Also see p. 313, footnote 146.

80. This is a **Siqa** or **Sahih Hadis** of the Holy Prophet preserved in the popular collections. See Khair Muhammad : **Ibn Maja aur Ilm-i-Hadis**, p. 133; M. H. Gilani : **Tadwin-i-Hadis**, p. 25.

(First :) The hypocrite, who professes the Faith and shows himself off as one adorned with the etiquette of Islam, but who does not refrain from sin, is far from abstenance and tells deliberate lies about the Apostle of Allah. Therefore, if you had considered him hypocrite and liar, you would not have accepted the *Hadis* reported by him, nor relied upon his statement. But because of being unaware of his *batin* (inner-self) you say that he is one of the companions of the Prophet—one who had seen him and heard the *Hadis* and accept what he states. Verily God has informed you of the hypocrites and the double-faced by describing their qualities and character.[81] These hypocrites continued after the Apostle of Allah. By means of calumny and concoction they made common cause with those inviting to the hell under the leadership of the misguided, raised them to authority and made them masters of the life and property of the people. With the help of *Hadis* they made a fortune in the world. Generally, the people (except those protected by God from the mischief of Satan and *Nafs-i-Ammara* (lower-self) side with the Sovereign and the State. Of the four forms of hypocrites, this is the most distinct.[82]

(Second :) The person, who heard something from the Apostle of Allah but could not completely keep it in his memory, gave rise to doubt in the saying and committed an error. He was not guilty of the offence of deliberate lying: He gave out whatever his memory had retained. He acted accordingly and said that he had heard it from the Apostle of Allah. If, therefore, the Musalmans know it for certain that he does not understand *Hadis* rightly, they should not accept it and if the reporter also realizes the mistake, he should give it up and abstain from narrating it.

(Third:) The person who heard something from the Apostle of Allah to the effect that he had first ordered and then forbidden it and he is not aware of the *Nahi* (what is forbibden by) of the prophet; or the person who is not aware of what was first prohibited and later permitted by the Prophet. Thus he knows what was cancelled (*Mansukh*) but does not know what it was cancelled by (*Nasikh*.) Had he known that this *Hadis* had been cancelled by another, he would not have narrated it. Likewise, the Musalmans would not have acted on what they had heard from him but what had been cancelled.

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81. **Al-Quran, Surah** lxiii — **Munafiqun**—, ix : 101.

82. **Nahj-ul-Balaghat** (A.N.), Maxim 201, pp. 656, ff.

(Fourth:) Finally, the fourth person is one who does not lie about Allah and His Apostle, who holds falsehood as enemy on account of fear from God and respect for the Prophet, who gives rise to no doubt and commits no error, who fully remembered what he had heard and reproduced it verbatim without any addition or omission, who guarded the *Nasikh* and acted upon it, identified the *Mansukh* and kept himself away from it, recognized the general and the special and assigned each its own place, ascertained the apocryphal and the authentic and acted accordingly.[83]

Sometimes the saying of the Apostle of Allah was capable of double interpretation: one applicable to a particular thing and reserved for a particular occasion and the other applicable to all things and all times. This category includes the person who does not know the intention of Allah and His Apostle behind a specific saying, who hears it and puts on it, on account of his ignorance, interpretation and explanation opposed to the intention of Allah and His Apostle and contrary to facts. Nor is it a fact that all the companions had asked the Apostle about its interpretation and taken pains in understanding its meaning, so much so that they liked a denizen of the desert or a new comer to pass by that way, and put a question to the Prophet, so that they should also hear the reply. In this connection (double meaning), I instantly referred to the Apostle the *Hadis* coming to my notice and committed to memory all that he stated. These are the causes of of confusion among the people in the matter of *Hadis*.[84]

Codification.

We have already seen how *Ahadis* were coined and attributed to the Holy Prophet. The confusion became so confounded in course of time that it became absolutely necessary to subject the entire collection to scientific scrutiny. Rules were accordingly framed for the re-evaluation of *Ahadith*, the verification of the sources of sayings, the character or antecedents of the reporters and the contents of the reports. It was laid down as a general guiding principle that the account of an event or occurrence, to be authentic, must be based on the ocular evidence of the actual participants therein or, failing that, the names

83. Ibid., p. 660. 84. Ibid., p. 661.

of the reporters in regular succession right up to the actual participants, listeners or observers must be clearly stated. With a view to eliminating, or at any rate, counteracting, as far as possible, the adverse effect of the change of sense and substance in the course of transmission, it was laid down as a rule that full particulars of the persons concerned—their memory, intelligence, knowledge, occupation, integrity, reputation, etc.—which play a positive part in the evaluation of testimony—, must be obtained from all available sources and subjected to scientific and selfless scrutiny.[85]

Criteria.

The *Ahadis* were tested in accordance with the following criteria evolved for the purpose: (1) Conformity with the Quran and authentic *Ahadis*, (2) consonance with accepted principles and practice. (3) consistency with reason, observation and experience, (4) corroboration by other evidence, (5) classification or standardization of evidence required for facts of different categories, character and importance, e. g. confession of offence, concoction of evidence, etc., (6) elimination of obvious bias from factual information, (7) eradication of all external element or influence, (8) extraordinary importance of certain isolated sayings or acts in view of the nature of the subject and the facts and circumstances of the case or cases, (9) comparison of reports on *Sirat* with those on *Ahadis* in point of authenticity, the former being considered inferior to the latter, (10) critical consideration of all original works on *Sirat* based on all sorts of reports, (11) preference given to the *Riwat* (narration) of *Faqihs* (jurists) over that of others in doubtful and disputed cases, and (12) consideration of charac-

85. Shibli : **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. i, pp. 38, ff.

ter, knowledge, intelligence, reputation, etc. of the reporters and writers concerned.[86]

Classification.

The *Ahadis* (Traditions of the Prophet), collected from almost all available sources and selected with meticulous care, were classified according to their special features and the degree of importance attached to them. They are but briefly referred to here in the same order: *Sahih* or *Siqa* (صحیح یا ثقہ), i.e. correct or authentic. They are so called because in each case the chain of reporters (*riwat*) right up to the first person, who himself had heard or seen the Holy Prophet, was complete and all the reporters were fully qualified for the job. (2) *Hasan* (حسن) or good, which were reported by those who were not blamed for bad reputation. (3) *Marfu* (مرفوع) or elevated, which were reproduced in the very words of the Holy Prophet and in the same sequence in which they were spoken by him. (4) *Mutawatar* (متواتر)[87] or consecutive, expressing consensus or complete agreement on the part of all reporters at all times and in all places. (5) *Muttasil* (متصل) or closely connected, there being no missing link in the chain of reporters. (6) *Musnad* (مسند) or authenticated because their reporters right up to the Holy Prophet are fully known. (7) *Mash-hur* (مشہور) or well known. Being reported by many,.[88] they are widely current. (8) *Mauquf*

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86. **Ibid.**, 43, ff. Also see Ibn Jauzi : **Fath-ul-Mughis**, p. 114; Mullah Ali Qari : **Tazkarat-ul-Mauzu'at**, pp. 92, ff.

87. The reporters being so many in all ages, it is stated, that sound commonsense will not accept that they had all agreed on lying. Khair Muhammad: **Khair-ul-Usul fi Hadis-ur-Rasul** annexed to the Urdu translation of **Balugh-ul-Maram**, p. 36.

88. According to Maulana Khair Muhammad, not less than three in each age. (**Khair-ul-Usul fi Hadis-ur-Rasul**. **Ibid.**).

(موقوف) or restricted to the rendering of the acts and utterances of the Holy Prophet in the words of the reporting companions. (9) *Mursal* (مرسل) or transmitted by the followers of the Prophet's Companions without reference to the original reporters. (10) *Maqtu'* (مقطوع) which contain a mention of the act or saying or speech of the Tabi'—the followers of the Companions of the Prophet. (11) *Munqate* (منقطع) or cut off, are so called because the chain of their reporters is broken and there are missing links here and there. (12) *Ma'zzal* (معضل) or deficient *Ahadis* are those in the chain of whose *sanad* (authority) two or more links are missing. (13) *Muztarib* (مضطرب) or conflicting *Ahadis* are contradictory in character and contents. (14) *Gharib* (غريب) i. e. poor or strange, are so called because of being solitary—reported only by one person at one place. (15) *Fard* (فرد) or single —so called because of the reporter being one in each age. (16) *Aziz* (عزيز) of which the reporters are two in each age. (17) *Munkar* (منكر) which refuse to recognize what are current and trustworthy despite the weakness of their own reporters.[89] (18) *Maruf* (معروف) or common. They are opposed to *Munkar*. (19) *Muallaq* (معلق), hanging up or suspended. The *Ahadis* of this class lack one or two reporters or authorities at the beginning. (20) *Mudarrij* (مدرج) or incorporated. They are so styled because they contain the words (material) of the reporters and give rise to the impression that they form part of the *Ahadis* in question; or they consist of two versions reported by two persons but treated as one version reported by one person. (21) Shaz (شاذ)—seldom or

89. This is according to Maulana Khair Muhammad. **Vide Khair-ul-Usul. Ibid.** Another definition of the term is that it applies to the *Ahadis* reported by reliable persons against the popular reports. **Vide Iqsam-i-Hadis** appended to the Urdu translation of **Tirmizi Sharif.**

rare. They are reported by persons (one in each case) who are less trustworthy than the persons whose reports have gained currency.[90] (22) *Mahzuz* (محظوظ) happy or wholesome. They represent the reverse side of *Shaz*. (23) *Maqlub* (مقلوب) or disturbed. The sayings or statements are so called when their words (text) or reporters are misplaced due to inadvertence. (24) *Musalsal* (مسلسل) or continuous. The *Ahadis* which closely resemble in the method of treatment and terminology and the characteristics and qualifications of their reporters are so called bacause they are consistent in these respects. (25) *Mudallas* (مدلس) or deceptive: Those reported by persons who do not disclose the identity of their authorities or original reporters. (26) *Mu'allal* (معلل) or diseased. The *Ahadis* of this category are ostensibly free from flaws but actually they conceal traits of taint and taunt. (27) *Matruk* (متروک)—discarded or given up. They are so called because their reporters are given to lies and opposed to the established principles of religion or truth. (28) *Mus-haf* (مصحف) or incorrect in text. The *Ahadis* of this class are so called because they are misread and misinterpreted due to inadvertent errors and omissions in dotting and assigning diacritical marks. (29) *Za'if* (ضعیف) or feeble *Ahadis* are so styled because their reporters are blamed for bad reputation as liars and evildoers, etc. (30) *Mauzu'at* (موضوعات) or forgeries, which are glaring fabrications.[91] It is hardly necessary to add that the foregoing classification is arbitrary and what

90. For the view that the terms **Munkar** (منکر) and **Shaz** (شاذ) are interchangeable and apply to the same category of **Ahadis** see **Iqsam-i-Hadis. Ibid.**

91. For the definitions and classifications of **Ahadis** see **Khair-ul-Usul fi Hadis-ur-Rasul** by Khair Muhammad, **Iqsam-i-Hadis** (Urdu Translation of **Tirmizi Sharif**), **Hujjatullah-ul-Baligha** Vol, i, pp. 619, ff., **Tarjuman-ul-Sunnah,** Vol, i, pp. 92, ff. and **Ibn Maja aur Ilm-i-Hadis,** pp. 198, ff.

is placed in one category by one may well be placed in another class by another expert according to his or her own choice. However, the arbitrary determination of a particular *Hadis* or *Ahadis* cannot be carried too far in pursuit of personal interests without transgressing the Islamic Law and exposing selfish motives.[92]

Compilations.

Hundreds of Muslim scholars and savants devoted their lives to the collection, verification and classification of the *Ahadis* by going from door to door and personally contacting the reporters living at distant places, applying their ability and industry to the arduous task undertaken by them and crystalizing the fruits of their efforts into copious collections.[93] According to Shah Waliullah, the First Class comprises only three works, viz. *Mauta* of Imam Malik, *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*. Imam Shafe'i has stated: 'The *Mauta* of Malik is the most authentic work next only to the Quran.' Experts are agreed that the *Sahihain* (Collections of Bokhari and Muslim) are absolutely correct. Most of the Ulama view them as infallible and hold that those who belittle their importance are innovators and the path pursued by them is not that of Musalmans. The Second Class claims such collections as the *Sunan* of Abu Daud, the *Jami'* of Tirmizi, the *Sunan* of Nisai and the *Musnad* of Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, which do not equal but which do approximate the high standard attained by the *Mauta* and the *Sahihain*. To the Third Class are

92. Rashid No'mani: **Ibn Maja aur Ilm-i-Hadis,** pp. 198, ff.

93. Waliullah: **Hujjatullah-ul-Baligha,** Vol. i, pp. 663, ff.; Badr-i-Alam: **Tarjuman-ul-Sunnah,** Vol. i, pp. 193, ff.; Rashid No'mani: **Ibn Maja aur Ilm-i-Hadis,** pp. 128, ff.; Shibli: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. i, pp. 38, ff.; Sulaiman Nadvi: **Khutbat-i-Madras,** pp. 48, ff.; Hidayatullah Nadvi: **Tarikh-i-Tadwin-i-Hadis,** pp. 3, ff.

assigned the collections of Abu Ali, Abdur Razzaq, Abu Bakr bin Abu Shaiba, 'Abd bin Hamid and Tayasi, said to have been compiled without any inquiry or investigation into their authenticity. The Fourth Class consists of far less reliable works, e. g. the *Kitab-uz-Zuafa* of Ibn Habban, the *Musnad* of Khwarizmi, etc. To the Fifth Class fall forgeries and fabrications on which Ibn Jauzi has written his book on *Mauzu'at*.[94]

Asma-ur-Rijal.

During the progress of the stupendous work outlined above lives of not less than 100,000 persons were surveyed and studied.[95] According to Allama Shibli, the Masters of *Hadis* carried out a vigorous inquiry and investigation into the moral character and conduct of all, including kings and great leaders, and exposed them one by one, regardless of rank and status, and the result was the rise of what is known as *Asma-ur-Rijal* or the Science of Biography and the preparation of hundreds of biographical accounts and such works as *Tahzib-ul-Tahzib*, *Tahzib-ul-Kamal* and *Mizan-ul-Itidal*, which were based on the original works, most of which are now extinct.[96]

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94. Waliullah: **Hujjatullah-ul-Baligha,** Vol. i, pp. 620, ff.; Shibli: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. i, pp. 38, ff.

95. Shibli: **Sirat-un-Nabi**, Vol. i, p. 39, note 1. According to Dr. Sprenger no nation of the world has to its credit such a magnificent work as the evolution of the science of biography (**Asma-ur-Rijal**) to which we owe the accounts of five lacs of persons. Quoted by Shibli: **Ibid**.

96. The **Tahzib-ul-Tahzib** consists of 12 volumes, written by Hafiz Ibn Hajar in 8 years. It was published in Hyderabad (Deccan). The same author enlarged the **Mizan-ul-'Itidal** of Allama Zahabi and renamed it as **Lisan-ul-Mizan**. See Shibli: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. i, pp. 40-41.

Imamia Contribution.

It may be observed here that the entire work in connection with the collection and codification of *Ahadis* outlined above was accomplished and almost exclusively by the scholars of the Sunni School and that very few *Ahadis* were reported from or traced back to Ali Ibn Abu Talib and the members of his House and incorporated in the collections.[97] The main reason for this is the same as stated by Shibli.[98] Nevertheless, the deficiency was more than made up by the Imams of that House and their adherents who carried on their work — diffusion of knowledge in which they excelled their contemporaries — in the corners called *zawias*. The *Ahadis* narrated by Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Husain passed from one Imam and his followers to another and his disciples and treasured in their memory or preserved on parchment or paper till they received wider publicity in better times. The earliest original collections of *Ahadis* of the Shia School of Islam are the *Sahifa* and *Kitab* of *Hazrat* Ali bin Abu Talib, the most important and authentic of all, the *Sahifa* of Jabir bin Abdullah, the *Musnad* of Salman-i-Farsi, the *Khutbat* of Abuzar Ghafari and the *Kitab-ul-Sunan wal Ahkam* of Abu Rafi'. They were followed by four hundred copious collections known as *Asals* or originals because of being reported by the *Imams* themselves. The four famous collections compiled during the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries after *Hijrat* are the *Mahasan* of Abu Ja'far Barqi, the *Kafi* (*Usul o Furu'*) of Abu Ja'far Kulaini, the *Man la yahzan-ul-Faqih* of Abu Ja'far Suduq and the *Al-Istibsar* of Abu Ja'far Tusi, based on four hundred works which are now extinct. Prominent among the later collections of *Ahadis* are the

97. Aulad Haidar: **Uswat-ur-Rasul,** Vol. i, pp. 38, ff.

98. Shibli No'mani: **Sirat-un-Nabi,** Vol. i, pp. 66-67.

Kitab-ul-Wafi of Mohsan Faiz, the *Wasail-ul-Shia* of Shaikh Hur Amli and the *Bihar-ul-Anwar* (specially *Kitab-ul-Sama wal Alam*) of Allama Majlisi.[99]

Codification.

The guidance given by *Hazrat* Ali on the evaluation of *Ahadis* and incorporated in the *Nahj-ul-Balaghat*,[100] which is regarded as far above human knowledge, has been followed as final authority. The Shias believe in the sinlessness of the twelve Imams and are called *Imamias* and *Asna Asharis*—Twelvers or the followers of Twelve Imams.[101] They have evolved the following classification of the *Ahadis*: (1) *Sahih* (صحیح)—correct or authentic. The authority of such a *Hadis*, it is laid down, must be traced back to not less than at least one of the *Aimma-i-Masumin* (the Sinless Imams), who were just and trustworthy and whose authority is unanimously acknowledged, and the narrators of the *Hadis* must also be *Adil* or just. (2) *Hadis-i-Hasan* (حدیث حسن) or good tradition is that the authority whereof goes back to the *Imam-i-Adil* or Just Imam, as in the case of *Hadis-i-Sahih*, but in the way pointed out by the venerable Imam that although the narrators have not used the words *siqa* and *adil or* trustworthy and just, they have, nevertheless, elicited appreciations in other similar words. (3) *Hadis-i-Musaq* (حدیث موثق) or strong tradition is that which has been handed down by the persons recognized by the historians as *siqa wa adil* or true and just and who need not necessarily be *Asna Asharis* or

99. M. Husain: **Tarikh-i-Tadwin-i-Hadis**, pp. 66, ff.

100. **Nahj-ul-Balaghat** (A.N.), pp. 201, 656, ff.

101. The Twelve Imams are: (1) Ali **Murtaza**, (2) Hasan **Mujtaba**, (3) Husain **Shahid-i-Karbala**, (4) Ali II **Zain-ul-Abidin**, (5) Muhammad **Al-Baqir**, (6) Ja'far **As-Sadiq**, (7) **Musa Al-Kazim**, (8) Ali III **Ar-Raza**, (9) Muhammad **Al-Jawwad (Taqi)**, (10) Ali IV **An-Naqi**, (11) Hasan **Al-Askari**, and (12) Muhammad **Al-Mahdi**.

followers of Twelve Imams. (4) *Hadis-i-Za'if* (حديث ضعيف) or feeble tradition is that which does not fulfill any of the above conditions.[102] The first three kinds of *Ahadis* are relied upon and the last one is discarded as unreliable. It is also laid down that a tradition to be accepted and relied upon must conform to regular succession or *Tawatar*— that is, it must have been handed down by a number of reliable persons in a regular course without break in the list or missing link in the chain and without any material change in the narration until it is traced back to the *Imam-i-Adil* or the Just Imam, the number of narrators in each age being so great as to rule out the possibility of any agreement on lying.[103] Such a tradition is called *Khabar-i-Wahid* or the information of one.[104] A retrospective glance at the codification of *Ahadis* of the Holy Prophet by the Shia School (as well as by the Sunni School) will show how much of it was inspired by and how much it owed to the same source — Ali's guidance set out in the beginning.[105] It is evident that the classification of *Ahadis* into four categories by *Hazrat* Ali is closely followed by the former.

Islamic Concept.

We have seen that the *Quran* (that which is read or recited) is *Kitab* or book, *Bayan* or statement, *Tibyan* or clear account, *Hadis* or tradition, *Hidayat* or guidance, *Hikmat* or science and philosophy, *Haq* or truth, *Burhan* or reason, *Furqan* or criterion, *Mizan* or balance, *Bashir* or bringer of good news, *Nazir* or warner, *Tazkarah* or narrative, *Zikr* or remembrance, *Tanzil* or revelation and *Nur* or light; that these terms were equally applicable to the Holy Prophet; and that the Holy Prophet put into practice what was

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102. Amir Ali: **The Spirit of Islam** p. 349. 103. **Ibid.**

104. **Ibid.** 105. See pp. 351-35 of this Volume.

prescribed as precepts in the Holy Book.[106] In other words, the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* were the principal sources of inspiration and guidance for the Muslims. According to Ibn Ali Ar-Rabi, history 'belongs to the intermediary group of sciences, which stands between the highest comprising theology and the lowest natural sciences'[107] Fakhr-ud-din Ali Ar-Razi looked upon historiography as a philosophy which 'knows no systematic treatment of its problems'[108] He was right when he said so because history deals with the mysteries of human nature too complicated to be solved scientifically and logically. It is here that history calls forth what is called poetic or prophetic vision by Toynbee and *Tawil-il-Ahadis* or interpretation of history in the Holy Quran[109] As the Holy Book and the Prophet (*Quran* and *Sunnah*) are models for all Muslims, the Quranic Concept of History is that it comprises record or book, statement or clear account, tradition or report, guidance or advice, science or philosophy, truth or reality, argument or reason, criterion or touchstone, balance or scale, good news or tidings, warning or lesson, story or tale, remembrance or memorial, and light or luminance. In other words, the Islamic Concept of History is that it is 'all-inclusive' and Professor Rosenthal is perfectly right when he says that 'such a wide definition of history was not unknown in Islam.'[110]

Conclusion.

In the light of the evidence embodied in the above account we can safely conclude that the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* not only supplied material for a

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106. See pp. 297, ff. of this Volume. See also Sulaiman Nadvi: **Khutbat-i-Madras**, pp. 121, ff.

107. Ar-Rabi quoted by Rosenthal in **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 35.

108. Ar-Razi quoted. **Ibid.** 109. See p. 313 of this Volume.

110. Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, p. 9.

correct and comprehensive concept of history, but also furnished the fundamentals of historical research relating to the importance of records, the verification of evidence, and the interpretation of historical facts. While History is the backbone of all arts and sciences, philosophies and cultures, etc., at least so far as recording is concerned, and as such it has made a material contribution to their cause, it has also given rise to and employed as aids to its own explanation and appreciation such ancillary sciences as politics, economics, sociology, anthropology, archaeology, geology, epigraphy, palaeography, diplomatics, numismatics, etc. It should not occasion surprise if the Holy Quran, which, as we have seen, is the greatest history in the widest sense of the word, has given birth to and stimulated the study of so many sciences.[111] So close is the connection between History and Religion. We have presented, as far as possible, within the prescribed limits, the potentialities of Islam and pointed out how it has provided the principles of historical research and how Muslims drew their inspiration from it in building up their theories and thoughts and making their mark. Modern Methodology is far superior to that of the past. As in Medicine, so also in other fields of knowledge, the West has made use of the wisdom of the East and presented all theories and thoughts under the patronage of scientific terminology. Now it will be easy to appreciate the evaluation of Muslim Historiography by Rosenthal and Thompson who have acknowledged its superiority and declared it as 'immortal giant' and as 'strikingly independent of previous historiographical tradition.'[112]

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111. Jaffar: **Islamic Education** in the **Shafi-Presentation Volume.**

112. Rosenthal: **A History of Muslim Historiography**, pp. 28, ff., 174; Thompson: **A History of Historical-writing**, Vol. i, p. 339. Also see Durant: **The Story of Civilization**, Vol. i, **Our Oriental Heritage**, p. viii; and pages 171-72 of this Volume.

Chapter XI

ROLE OF RELIGION IN FUTURE

Introductory.

In this 'Age of Reason,' which is also known as the 'Age of Science,' many of us find ourselves at the cross-roads: religion or no religion? If religion is going to survive and stay, what form will it take—anyone of the existing religions, their synthesis or an altogether new religion? If so, what is that religion going to be and why and what is going to be its role in future? While dealing with the subject and answering these important questions of far-reaching consequences, we will also refer to the results of the researches of experts, who have turned their attention to these topics of vital importance and expressed their views and compare them with our own conclusions.[1] *An Historian's Approach to Religion* by Toynbee is a well-timed publication, which requires a close and critical but independent and unbiased study. We have devoted part of this chapter to his approach and argument, outlined the points raised by him, examined them in the light of authentic evidence within the limited compass. The *World's Great Religions*, first published piecemeal and then as a separate volume by the *Light* (NewYork) with an Introduction by Dr. Hutchinson, is another contribution on the same subject—comparative study of surviving faiths of the world—by a team of specialists. We have examined its contents in general and its main argument insisting on the synthesis of surviving religions in particular in the light of irrefutable facts. We have also

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1. The link between this Chapter and Chapter IX should not be missed. The present Chapter is devoted mainly to the most recent researches on religion, including my own.

assessed and evaluated Professor Perry's compromising proposal to profess two religions simultaneously—one local or ancestral and the other universal—and thus ensure spiritual unification of the world without giving offence to anyone. Finally, we have suggested our own solution and invited others to suggest their own in order to achieve the end in view—spiritual unification—through the union of hearts.

Why Religion?

Why should there be religion at all? Before answering this question, let us seek solution to a parallel problem—Why should there be State? Why should the State exist and exercise a check on the activities of the people and why should there be law at all? Can we do without the State and the Law? No! Because there will be no law and order, peace and tranquility without them. The reasons for the stay of Religion are the same as those for the stay of the State and the Law. As long as the need for the stay of the State and the Law is felt, the need for the stay of Religion cannot be ruled out, provided it provides, as it ought to, for a sound State and an equally sound Law. It is also asserted that Religion is being replaced by Recreative Arts, etc. and God by the 'Goddess of Technology'.[2] The question arises: What is the inherent good of the Fine Arts, etc.? The reply will be: They are liked by the people; or in other words, their recognition is a concession to human sentiment. Why should Religion not enjoy the same concession for the same reasons, or why should it be deprived of that concession?

Human Urge for Worship.

According to Professor Paul Hutchinson, the evidence on the subject contains infinite varia-

2. Nordau: *The Interpretation of History*, p. 207; Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 226, ff.

tions, but on one thing it agrees: 'Man is a religious being.' His 'irresistable urge to worship' has been explained by Howells in the statement that he is 'the creature who comprehends things he cannot see and believes in things he cannot comprehend.' The same scholar traces the urge for religion down to the human nature and accounts for it in these words:

> In their religious aspirations men do not differ much from one another, no matter where they live, and when. They seek assurance of the favour of their gods protecting against the dangers of life, community with their fellows, courage in the hour of conflict, comfort in the hour of grief, guidance in their daily concerns, release from the pangs of conscience and, for most but not all of them, hope for some sort of immortality. The ways by which followers of the different faiths pursue these common ends vary beyond all telling, though within all the great faiths there have been mystics who have risen above the level on which most of us live to a sense of the Divine which has made them much akin.[3]

Man, with whose activities history is mainly concerned, has a will to spur him on to action, an intellect to guide him and a conscience to connect him with the Creator. He cannot do without religion. He has not found it possible to cut off his connection with the Creator.[4] The occasional revolts are only exceptions that prove the rule. It should be noted, however, that religion, like history, has suffered very heavily at the hands of its unworthy followers, hypocrites and avowed enemies. 'In assessing Communism's brother pseudo-religions and cults such as nationalism, fascism, and socialism, Professor Toynbee has stated:

> Religion is manifestly one of the essential faculties of human nature. No individual human being and no human community is ever without a religion of some kind; and, when

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3. Hutchinson: *The World's Great Religions*, p. 8.

4. 'Voltair said that if there were not a God, it would be necessary to invent one.' *A History of Philosophy*, Vol. ii, p. 390.

people are starved of religion, the desperate spiritual straits to which they are reduced by being deprived of this necessity of life can fire them to extract grain of religious consolation out of the most unpromising ores.[5]

Religion as Eternal Truth.

Man is endowed with limited knowledge and vision. The all-creative Author is, therefore, doubtless beyond his comprehension, but he is sure of His presence. He is fully convinced of the eternal truth because, in spite of his own faults and failures, sins and sufferings, he knows in his heart of hearts that right is right and wrong is wrong, good is good and bad is bad, truth is truth and falsehood is falsehood. Therefore, it can be said with certainty that truth or right religion will stay, as it has stayed, even apart from its proponents and professors, opponents and enemies. It was only when he had fully realized the remarkable role of religion that Bohmer painfully proclaimed that "lack of religion (belief) was the greatest evil of his time and that Protestantism was unable to reconstruct society on a Christian basis."[6]

Belief and Disbelief.

Both *belief* and *disbelief* are founded on faith. As Dr. Hutchinson has pertinently pointed out: 'Through centuries men have died for the right to *believe*, but other men equally sincere have died for the right to *disbelieve*. However we may rate their wisdom, we must credit them with a kind of religious fervour in defence of their faith. For atheism too is a faith in the sense that it is based on belief rather than scientific proof.'[7] Here 'scientific proof' means physical and tangible proof—that which can be observed

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5. Toynbee quoted in the *World's Great Religions*, p. 8.
6. Bohmer quoted. Gooch: *The History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 66.
7. Hutchinson: *The World's Great Religions*, p. 8.

and felt. Philosophies too involve faith, i.e. belief, not in the Divine Being, but in the truth of their own ideologies—principles and precepts. Thus, Communism is regarded as 'a burning faith' which proclaims the prospective victory of man over evil and adversity and the creation of an earthly paradise. 'If the substance of faith,' it is argued, 'is the substance of the things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, then Communism with its promise of a classless social order and an equal sharing by all mankind in all the benefits of life, surely is a faith.'[8] Human happiness—salvation or freedom from pain, etc.—is said to be the be-all and end-all of all faiths and philosophies, whether religious or irreligious. Their methods are the same. Some omit Divinity while others retain it. The Godless philosophies found their own gods in their founders—Buddhism in Buddha, Confucianism in Confucius and Communism in Marx and Lenin, who are all worshipped by their followers more fervently than God or gods are worshipped by many monotheists, polytheists, etc.[9] In short, we are assured that it is impossible to escape faith either in one form or in the other and to shake off human urge for worship.

Toynbee: Nature-Worship.

After a comparative study of the living higher religions of the world, Professor Toynbee has come to the conclusion that 'below the surface of the Psyche, the worship of Nature is still alive.' He traces the elements of Nature-worship in all the higher living religions in the following words:

> Yet in spite of this apparently and definitive victory of Man over Non-Human Nature, the worship of Nature is still to be seen embedded in the living higher religions. Its presence is very evident in current Hinduism (e.g. in the worship of the *lingam* as a

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8. *Ibid.* 9. *Ibid.*

symbol of the self-reproductive power of life). It is also to be seen in the Mahayana (e.g. in the charting of the structure of the Subconscious Psyche in the *mandala*) and in Christianity (e.g. in the cult of the Mother and Child and in the sacrament of the Bread and the Wine). The worship of Nature is to be found even in Islam, which is the most rational of all the living Judaic higher religions, and which is a match for Judaism itself in the severity of its monotheism and in the clearness of its apprehension of the transcending aspect of God. The Black Stone fetish embedded in the wall of the Ka'bah at Mecca may serve as a symbol of the survival of elements of Nature-worship, not only in Islam itself, but in all the living higher religions.[10]

Not in Islam.

The statement that 'the worship of Nature is to be found even in Islam' is incorrect and the evidence (Black Stone) cited in support is untenable.[11] The Black Stone is not an object of worship, nor is it worshipped by the Muslims as God or as a substitute therefor. It is regarded as a sacred relic of the past and kissed as a mark of respect. Islam does not associate anyone or anything with Allah in the matter of worship.

Surviving Faiths.

In the following passage Professor Toynbee has referred to two philosophies and six religions of the past which have survived and which are still in the field today:

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10. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 19-20; Durant: *The Story of Civilization, Vol. 1—Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. 247, 511.

11. Professor Toynbee has made similar other statements about Islam and the Holy Prophet. For instance: 'Islam was used by its founder as an instrument for establishing the nucleus of an Arab barbarian successor-state of the Roman Empire........' (*An Historian's Approach to Religian, p.* 109). 'Protestantism was exploited politically in Luther's lifetime and with his collusion, as Islam had been in Muhammad's and with his.' *Ibid.*, p. 111. Both these allegations are opposed to the principles of Islam and the practice of the Prophet. See Haqqani *Al-Bayan*, p. 644.

"Of all the philosophies thrown up by all the civilizations up to date, only two—Confucianism and the Hinayana School of Buddhism—are still in the field......Of all the higher religions that were in competition in the Hellenic world, only six are still in the field to-day. Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, the Mahayana, and Hinduism are still there."[12]

Their Staying Power.

Referring to the staying power of these eight survivors, their co-existence and future prospects, the same authority adds:

"But the longer they do continue to exist side by side, the more convincingly will the fact of their co-existence militate against the acceptance of the exclusive claim to uniqueness and finality[13] that is made by each of them in contradiction with the identical claim made by each of its seven contemporaries.[14]

His presumption is that the eight existing faiths will continue to exist side by side in the same Oikoumene.[15] What is the "staying-power" of the surviving religions—blind faith of their followers, their own inherent virtues or the mere fact of their "co-existence"? If their virtues are responsible for their stay, how are we to account for the stay of Evil? Is *co-existence* the cause or the consequence? If the existing religions are to stay, as presumed by Professor Toynbee, what is the use of passing judgment between them sooner or later and waiting for the verdict of time? What is the *staying power* of Christianity in the West, where God has been 'deposed.'[16] Recounting the various intellectual elements which combine

12. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 136.

13. Islam does not claim uniqueness. *Al-Quran*, xli: 43 and pp. 291-2 of this Volume. It does claim finality. *Al-Quran*, v: 3. This is confirmed by the fact that no great religion has come into existence since Islam came into prominence. See *The World's Great Religions, Introduction* by Hutchinson

14. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 136.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

to compose what is called 'artificially fostered feeling for history' or historical sense, which favours 'institutions that have long lost any reasonable justification and become useless and meaningless,' Max Nordau says: 'It follows from these characteristics of human thought[17] that, although the majority may obtain no advantage from an institution—may even suffer from it—they will feel a respect for its antiquity, and look upon its remote origin as sufficient justification for its continued existence.' How false this 'respect' for remote origin or antiquity is will be evident from the fact that 'its practical purpose, in a word, is to oppress and deceive the present with the assistance of the past.'[18] The continued co-existence of similar institutions for a long time (antiquity) affords no justification for their continuity and there is no point in saying that they will continue to exist in future because they have co-existed for such a long time. Many an age-long institution has ceased to exist and we cannot rule out the possibility of similar other institutions following the suit and falling out of existence. Evil has continued to exist for such a long time, but its antiquity affords no justification for its continuity *ad infinitum*. In this age of reason and science—if it is really so—there should be no room for evil and the reign of religion must set in.

Spiritual Freedom: Religious Toleration.

Professor Toynbee recommends 'spiritual freedom' in 'a regimented world' and enjoins 'toleration

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17. These intellectual elements or characteristics of human nature are (1) 'the patronage of the ruling class' which means that it is thought to be well-bred to imitate their views,' (2) 'weakness of judgment, which makes people incapable of independent or rational criticism' and (3) 'intellectual laziness, which finds comfort in the generally accepted view'. Nordau: *The Interpretation of History*, p. 38.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41.

that is genuinely voluntary' and generated by motives which are higher and positive and not lower and negative. If toleration is not actuated by higher and positive motives, he fears, intolerance will rear its head again in some other form (nationalism, communism, fascism, etc.) if not in religion.[19] At the end of his argument he says:

> "Every soul has a right to commune with God in God's and this soul's way; and the particular way concerns none but God and the particular soul in question. No other human being has a right to intervene by the use of any means except non-violent missionary action. And violence in this field is not only sinful; it is futile; for religion cannot be inculcated by force. There is no such thing as a belief that is not held voluntarily through a genuinely spontaneous inner conviction.[20]

Comments.

Spiritual freedom and religious toleration have been rightly stressed by Professor Toynbee. They are indeed the pre-requisites for spiritual unification and universal salvation. The motives actuating or generating them must be most genuine in the sense that everyone can exercise the right of independent thinking, free choice and undeterred determination of the *straight path.* Preaching and promoting the cause of truth, reality or right religion must be by peaceful means and methods and conversions from one faith to another, if any, must be conversions of hearts through conviction and not through coercion.[21]

That every soul has a right to commune with God in God's and this soul's way and that this particular way is the sole concern of that soul and the Sovereign Lord is perfectly correct and it is equally true

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19. 'Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 249-50. 20. *Ibid.*, p. 250. 21. *Vide infra*, pp. 368, ff.

that the way in which the task (communion) is to be accomplished is to be worked out by the said soul, and no one else, so as to link it or bring it into line with the way of the Lord in response to the Eternal Voice. But the soul must see that the way it has selected is the way of God or Right Religion—safe and sound, simple and straight, uniform and universal.

Islamic Ideology.

Islam has emphasized 'spiritual freedom' and 'religious tolerance' in unequivocal terms. It is clearly laid down in the Holy Quran: 'Let there be no compulsion in religion.'[22]—'To you your religion and to me mine.'[23]—'Let there be no excesses in religion.'[24] There are repeated directives for the Prophet that his duty was to convey the Message.[25] So far as the propagation of faith is concerned, the Holy Quran has insisted on the best possible way and most peaceful means.[26] How it has emphasized and inculcated direct and uninterrupted communion with the Creator will be evident from the *Surah Fatiha* which is invariably recited by every Muslim in every compulsory prayer and which is regarded as the essence of the Message:

> Praise be to God, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds, Most Gracious, Most Merciful: Master of the Day of Judgment. Thee do we worship and Thine aid do we seek. Show

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22. Al-Quran, ii: 256.
23. Ibid., cix: 6.
24. *Ibid.*, iv: 171.
25. *Ibid.*, v: 92,98, xvi: 82.
26. *Ibid.* How the Holy Prophet put this principle into practice is evident from the following passage recorded by *Hazrat* Ali: 'God sent down His Messengers when the people went astray and sank in barbaric ignorance and Godlessness. The Holy Prophet did his best to bring them round and showed them the right path. He stuck to the straight path and invited all others to his side by *Hikmat* and good advice. *Nahj-ul-Balaghat* (J. H.), Vol. i, pp. 280-81.

us the straight way, the way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace, those whose portion is not wrath and who do not go astray.[27]

The first two verses in the third person remind the worshipper of the choicest attributes of Almighty God in Whose presence he finds himself and the rest of the verses in the first person put him in direct communion with Him. Mark also the nature or quality of the prayer which embodies a burning desire for faith and self-improvement. The emphatic insistence on direct communion with the Creator does not rule out the necessity of guidance and guide for the worshipper. Hence the long line of Prophets and the institution of Prophethood.

Divine Message & Messengers.

Since Allah (or God according to the Quranic Concept) did not choose to appear in one tangible form or another (that would have limited or restricted His presence), He adopted such other means for Self-Expression as suited His purpose best—the creation of the universe and the raising of the Prophets who possessed His attributes and preached His principles and precepts and acted as links between Him and His people. The Prophets had two facets: one joining them with Allah and the other with the people. They gave over to the latter whatever they took from the former—Message or Guidance—, without which human beings could not do.[28] In other words, having created man and endowed him with the faculties to judge detween right and wrong, the Creator did not leave him without guidance or let him at large without aim. He sent His Message and Messengers from time to time to point out the right path to the people, so much so that no period or place was without

27. *Al-Quran*, i:1, ff. 28. Jaffar: *Maqam-i-Nabuwat.*

such guidance or guides. The Message was sent piecemeal, i. e. by instalments or doses in keeping with the growing needs of humanity. Those who brought it also explained it to the people by teaching and translating it into action. It was their duty to mould the milieu and to make the receiving-set (audience) capable of picking up the Divine Message or Eternal Voice, both perfect and infallible. To have it tuned in with the varying audience by human agency was out of the question, for that would have overturned the Message and defeated its own aim and end. The Absolute Truth or Reality and the fundamentals of religion or basic values such as love and justice, devotion and duty, chastity and charity, etc. have been the same but they had to be stressed time and again by the prescribed agency. The Code or Constitution containing Commands and Prohibitions or Do's and Don'ts being divine, could not be altered or amended by extra-divine authority. It was tuned in by the Original Author according to the ability of the receiving-set or audience. No one could do it better or as adequately as He Whose Message it was.[29]

Their Finality.

According to the Divine Plan or Law of Nature (*Taqdir*, *Qaza-o-Qadar* or Cause and Effect), the Message and the Messengers had to reach their climax, beyond which there could be no additions and improvements. The ultimate Message and the Messenger had to be absolutely perfect and infallible in every respect for the guidance of all at all levels. Materially, the world has made unprecedented progress. Physical Unification is an accomplished fact. The prospects of a Universal State and a Universal Brotherhood have

29. Cf. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 264; *World's Great Religions*, p. 5. *See pp.* 387-8 *of this Volume.*

become brighter. What is required is spiritual freedom or religious tolerance leading to or paving the path for spiritual unification. Has He, Who has created and controlled the universe and guided humanity so far, provided guidance for the needs of the times? If He has (as certainly He ought to have), then is it not the duty of mankind to find it out and follow it up? All the existing higher religions of the world have claimed finality.[30] The testing-time has come and we have to judge between the rival claims. If it is accepted that all the higher religions are true, that the time for spiritual unification is ripe, that absolute truth is indivisibly one, and that therefore there can be but one Divine Message for all times to come, then the conclusion that the last of all the higher religions is the one we must follow as final, is inescapable. We have yet to see which of the higher religions provides for the Universal Faith, the Universal State and the Universal Brotherhood and which constitutes a complete code for human life as a whole. This is the time for such a search and for a comparative study of all existing religions and the judgment between them. Those who will restrain this natural impulse and postpone their judgment to an indefinite future, shutting their eyes to the existing phenomenal developments, will betray lack of belief in their own faiths and furnish irrefutable evidence to the effect that the religions they profess cannot stand the acid test.[31] The comparative study of religions and the judgment between them must be preceded by the investigation of the historicity or authenticity, the purity and prefection, the universality

30. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 131-32; Rosenthal: *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 24.

31. Cf. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 296. See pp. 399, ff. of this Volume.

and practicability of the Message and the model presented by the Messenger. Without this, the case shall stand on sands.

Approach to Almighty.

No one can comprehend the Creator Who is within as well as without the Creation or Cosmos, and no one can have direct communion with Him without listening to the Eternal Voice or the Divine Message. One can only form an idea and be sure of the presence or existence of what is variously designated as 'Absolute Reality,' 'Presence behind the Phenomena', 'Power at the back of all Existence' and 'Great Mystery.' We can approach the Grand Goal by following the path prescribed by that Power and have communion with it in the manner outlined by it. We can feel it in proportion to our purity, piety and perfection in religion.[32]

Mystery with Many Approaches ?

Toynbee has stated that Absolute Reality is a Great Mystery which must have more than one approaches, and that our own vision is so limited that we cannot know that there is no truth in other religions. He says:

> Different peoples' convictions will differ, because Absolute Reality is a mystery of which no more than a fraction has ever yet been penetrated by—or been revealed to—any human mind. The heart of so great a mystery cannot ever be reached by following one road only.[33] However strong and confident may be my conviction that my own approach to the mystery is a right one, I ought to be aware that my field of spiritual vision is so narrow that I cannot know that there is no virtue in other approaches. In theistic terms this is to say that I cannot know that other

32. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-57. See pp. 399, ff. of this Volume.

33. Quintus Aurelius Symmachus in a controversy with Saint Ambrose. Quoted by Toynbee in *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 251.

peoples' visions may not also be revelations from God—and these perhaps fuller and more illuminating revelations than the one that I believe that I myself have received from Him.[34]

Truth: Common Goal.

Developing the same theme and carrying his argument still further, the learned Professor also observes that all those who are approaching the same Mystery from different sides are engaged in an identical quest. He believes in spiritual brotherhood based on toleration which becomes perfect when it is transformed into love. He says:

"Moreover, the fact that I and my neighbour are following different roads is something that divides us much less than we are drawn together by the other fact that, in following our different roads, we are both trying to approach the same mystery—all these fellow-seekers are engaged in an identical quest. They should recognise that they are spiritually brethren and should feel towards one another, and treat one another as such. Toleration does not become perfect unless it has been transformed into love."[35]

Questions and Comments.

If the followers of all Faiths are trying to approach the same mystery and if all the fellow-seekers are engaged in an identical quest in right earnest, why should they not proceed together, specially when they have pursued their paths and programmes and missed the mark? Is the quest for Truth genuine? If so, why should there be no agreement on the formalities when there is an agreement on the fundamentals? Can the task to reach the heart of the mystery be simplified and made surer by plurality of approaches? If so, why should we not increase the number of approaches and accomplish the task? How can the quest be identical when the concepts are conflicting

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51. 35. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

and contradictory? We must have a crystal-clear concept of Absolute Truth: We must be united on this point if we are sincere in our attempt to approach it. 'The heart of every religion is its doctrine of God.'—Rev. Gairdner has rightly remarked. We, the followers of various faiths, have various goals in view. Hindus, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians and Muslims, who have all conflicting and contradictory concepts of the Creator, are driving towards different ends. Our approaches are as different as our goals. This difference is due to the difference of concepts. If our ultimate aim or goal is one, our approach to that goal must also be one. This is in conflict with what Toynbee has suggested and it is imperative therefore to explain and illustrate this point in order to avoid what would look like a problem or a paradox. The *Qibla* (point or place towards which Muslims all over the world turn their faces at prayer) is approached by them all from all directions or sides by following one path, i. e. *din* or religion (Islam) and not several paths or religions. It is in this sense that I say that the approach to Absolute Truth or Reality, which is *one*.[36] must also be invariably *one*. Finally, Toynbee's toleration is different from that defined in English dictionaries. Toleration does not imply true love. The implication is quite to the contrary: We tolerate that which we do not like. Idolatry is tolerated and not loved.[37]

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36. 'There is but one truth, one way to heaven.—Locke: *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Quoted by Toynbee in *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 189. 'Reality is one' and 'sages call it by different names.' *World's Great Religions*, p. 15. 'Hindus use myths, symbols and an elaborate theology to explain many sides of oneness.' S. Radhakrishna: *The Hindu Way of Life* quoted. *Ibid*., p. 9.

37. Jaffar: *Islamic Tolerance*: *In Principle and Practice* in the *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*.

Essentials.

"There are essential counsels and truths", says Toynbee, "and there are non-essential practices and propositions." According to him, the former are "valid for all times and places;" they are "enshrined in the higher religions" and are "co-equal with Mankind." Whatever the means and methods of reaching or receiving 'the spiritual truth' which shines in all the higher religions, he says, 'it lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' Since all the religions of the world are coming into 'closer contact' with one another and the relations between them are becoming 'more intimate,' the prospects of spiritual unity and universal brotherhood have become brighter.[38]

It is not difficult to specify 'essential counsels and truths' which are 'valid for all times and places.' They are, for instance, love, fidelity, non-violence patience, perseverence, truthfulness, sincerity, selflessness, sympathy, spirit of sacrifice, etc. They are 'co-equal with mankind.' They are 'enshrined in the higher religions.' The philosophies which are without God are not without them. Buddhism, for example, is regarded as 'one of the greatest civilizing forces the East has ever known.'[39] The question that confronts us here is: What is 'the spiritual truth' which shines in all the higher religions? Is it the Islamic Allah, the Christian Trinity, the Hindu Trinity, the Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda, the Chinese Tao, or some other Deity or Deities invested with divine attributes? As long as the *spiritual truth* differs in different cases, the goals in view and the approaches thereto are bound to differ and there can be no universal religion contemplated by the thinkers of past and present and

38. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 262.
39. Hutchinson: *The World's Great Religions*, p. 42.

propagated by the Prophets and preachers since the dawn of humanity. It is true that the prospects of spiritual unity or common concept of spiritual truth and universal brotherhood have become brighter because all the religions of the world are coming into closer contact with one another and the relations between them are becoming '*more intimate*' but what is needed is sincerity.

Accretions.

For winnowing the chaf away from the grain in the religious heritage of Mankind, Toynbee recommends historical investigation which can trace accretions back to the origins and show in many cases that these origins are alien to the essential truths and counsels enshrined in the higher religions and have attached themselves to religions in the course of their history as a result of historical incidents[40]

Before undertaking the historical investigation recommended by Professor Toynbee, it is necessary to specify the essential counsels and truths enshrined in the higher religions and the spiritual truth which shines in every soul. The older the religions, the more the cobwebs and accretions and the more arduous the task, particularly in the absence of authentic records. How arduous the task is will be evident from the ensuing account. Nevertheless, it is worth doing and it awaits honest historians.

Weeding of Accretions.

The 'accretions' or rather cobwebs, which have attached themselves to the religions in the course of their history, should be removed and the sum-total of the *Truth* thus traced will afford correct clue to the Final Faith. How to distinguish between the *Essence*

40. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 262, ff. and pp. 277, ff.

and the *Accretions* is a problem. The solution lies in forming a clear concept of *Absolute Reality* which is one in essence and which cannot be split up, in recognising the fundamentals or basic values and in accepting the principle that the final message, emanating from the Absolute Reality, is one and no more.[41] If our ultimate goal is the same and if the universal truths and counsels are the same, why not discard all unnecessary accretions and unite? How can we discard unnecessary accretions when "myths are the instruments through which these farthest flights of Human Spirit are achieved" and when "myths are indispensable to Man for probing a mystery that is beyond his intellectual horizon"?[42] Can myths lead to the Mystery in view?

Approach by Evaluation.

Before actually undertaking the task and judging between the merits of existing religions and philosophies, it is necessary to clear the path to the ultimate goal in view. Let students of religion and history approach the two facets of Truth in their own way. Here is a fivefold standard (subject to modification, if necessary) with which to judge the merits of rival religions in the present form: (1) Divinity—How far the faiths and their founders owe their origin and inspiration to the Creator? (2) Purity—How far they are presented or represented by their followers in the form in which they appeared at first, i. e. how far they are faithful or fabulous? (3) Perfection—How far they are perfect models to be followed by the human race? (4) Scope—How far they are comprehensive, i. e. com-

41. Locke quoted by Toynbee in *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 189; Hutchinson: *The World's Great Religions*, p. 15. Also see pages 243, ff. of this Volume.

42. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 280.

prehend life and afford guidance on its various aspects, stages, etc.? (5) Practicability—How far their teachings are practicable? It is often stated by the sponsors of sacred scriptures that anything can be proved from them; but before anything can be admitted as proved by them, they themselves must be tested and found to be true, for if they are untrue or apocryphal, they cannot be accepted as authority for or proof of anything.[43]

Tuning in of Truth.

The 'eternal voice', we are advised, should be "tuned in to its present audience's receiving-set so that its message may be picked up. The argument is as fallows:

> If the essence of a higher religion did not compromise with local and temporary circumstances by tuning in to them, it would never reach any audience at all; for, in every human society, the permanent and universal counsels and truths are overlaid by one of those local and temporary culture patterns with which Adam and Eve have covered their nakedness ever since they first ate of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. On the other hand, if a higher religion is unable or unwilling to change its tune when it is carried by the current of History to new theatres of social life in other times and places, its undiscarded adaptation to a past social milieu will put it even more out of tune with the present social milieu than if it had presented itself without any accessories at all.[44]

True Purpose.

Speaking about the true purpose of a higher religion and the end of Man, the same scholar says:

> The true purpose of a higher religion is to radiate the spiritual counsels and truths that are its essence into as many souls as it can reach, in order that each of these souls may be enabled thereby to fulfill the true end of Man. Man's true end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever: and if the

43. Thomas Paine : *The Age of Reason*, p. 91.

44. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 249.

ecclesiastical authorities were to make this true purpose of their religion the paramount consideration in the determination of their policy, they would be constantly re-tuning their unvarying essential message to different wave-lengths in order to make it audible to different audiences.[45]

Another scholar of the same school strikes a similar note when he says :

It is clear that if Islam is to continue to hold the active allegiance of the scientifically trained young men and women who are moving into leadership in the awakening Muslim world, there will have to be some sort of accommodation to the Koran's regidities.[46]

Questions and Comments.

What is the 'eternal voice' referred to above? Is it Divine Message for human guidance? If so, is human agency competent to tune it to the present audience's receiving-set? If it is subjected to the process of tuning in, as suggested, will it remain intact and eternal? If it is really divine, will it not lose its force as such when it is made to compromise with local and temporary circumstances by tuning in to them? The process of tuning in will add accretions to the existing accretions (which have clouded the eternal truth and which are intended to be weeded out) and make confusion worse confounded. The best instance of the process of 'tuning in' and 'compromise with local conditions' is afforded by Hinduism which has made provision for all forms of faith except Islam and for all types of tastes and temperaments except Islamic.[47] But the question is: Does it represent right religion and should it be made the sole religion of the world? Islam is the only great religion whose Message has remained intact and the biography of whose Messenger is available

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-268.

46. World's Great Religions, p. 5.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

to the world—complete and comprehensive, historic and authentic in every respect.[48] This is due to the rigidity of Islam and the orthodoxy (not fanaticism) of Musalmans. We will deal with this important theme after we have surveyed the world situation in relation to religion. We must, however, add that if Islam too is subjected to the process of 'tuning in' and 'compromise', as suggested, it is bound to share the fate of other religions, that the Eternal Voice or Divine Message will remain the same till eternity and that the audience's receiving-set shall have to be moulded and made fit to pick up the message or receive the eternal voice.

Judgment on Religions Premature.

Speaking about the comparative worth of all existing higher religions, Professor Toynbee says:

> An effective judgment is impossible when one is comparing a religion which has been familiar to one in one's home since one's childhood with a religion which one has learnt to know from outside in later years. One's ancestral religion is bound to have so much the stronger hold upon one's feelings that one's judgment between this and any other religion cannot be objective. Our impulse to pass judgment between the different living religions ought therefore to be restrained by us till the physical 'annihilation of distance' has had time to produce the psychological effects that may be expected from it. A time may come when the local heritage of the different historic nations, civilizations, and religions will have *coalesced* into a common heritage of the whole human family. If that time does come, an effective judgment between the different religions may then at last begin to be possible but we are certainly not within reach of it yet.[49]

Questions & Comments.

If the grip of ancestral religion is so strong that it is impossible to get out of it, why and how has

48. *Vide infra*, pp. 399, ff.

49. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 296.

the West 'deposed' God and discarded ancestral Christianity? If change of religion or belief is impossible, is not the search for Truth in vain? What are the bonafides of the converts from one religion to another? What is the value or worth of the work of conversion carried on so zealously by the missions of the existing religions? How are we justified in restraining our *natural impulse* to pass judgment between the surviving religions? Is effective *judgment* between one's ancestral religion and other religions impossible? If so, why should there be much ado about nothing? What will be the use of such a judgment when 'one's ancestral religion is bound to have so much the stronger hold upon one's feelings that one's judgment between this and any other religion cannot be objective' and when the time has done 'the discriminating work'? If one cannot know that 'there is no virtue in other approaches,' why should one wait for a time when 'the annihilation of distance' will create psychological effects favourable for judging between the existing religions? What psychological effects will the 'annihilation of distance' produce? At any rate, what is the guarantee that such favourable effects would at all be produced by the annihilation of distance?[50]

True Test & Testing-time.

Professor Toynbee tells us that the true test of a religion consists in its success or failure to alleviate sin and suffering, that the progress of technology is responsible for making our suffering more acute than ever and our sins more devastating in their consequences, that the testing-time has come and that we should wait for the verdict of time. He says:

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50. Cf. Toynbee's Argument. *Ibid.*, pp. 209, ff.

Meanwhile all the living religions are going to be put to a searching practical test. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' The practical test of religion, always and everywhere, is its success or failure in helping human souls to respond to the challenges of Suffering and Sin. In the chapter of the world's history on which we are now entering, it looks as if the continuing progress of Technology were going to make our sufferings more acute than ever before, and our sins more devastating in their practical consequences. This is going to be a testing-time, and, if we are wise, we shall await its verdict.[51]

If we do not feel that we can afford to wait for Time to do its discriminating work, we are confessing to a lack of faith in the truth and value of the religion that happens to be ours. On the other hand, if we do have faith in it, we shall have no fear that it will fail to play its full part in helping human souls to enter into communion with the presence behind the phenomena and to bring themselves into harmony with this Absolute Reality.[52]

Questions & Comments.

How far a religion is capable of achieving the ends in view is one thing and how far it does achieve them quite another, for we know that the best of religions have had the worst of followers and the best of parents have got the worst of children.[53] A religion is best judged by its Message and the Messenger. Technology is a neutral force and can be put to any use—good or bad. If it is allowed to be abused, it is bound to do havoc. Religion alone can exercise the required restraint. No higher religion is less than one thousand years old. The world has seen enough of them during the past millinia. It has to make an honest and independent choice. It is a question of now or never. Now that the testing-time has come and all

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51. *Ibid.*, p. 296. 52. *Ibid.*

53. Sir Runciman's *Lecture on History* at Peshawar.

the religions are put to a practical test,why should we not judge between them at this stage? If we postpone our judgment to an indefinite future, will it not mean that the religions we profess cannot stand the acid test, or that, at any rate, our own faith is not founded on good faith? What is the testing authority? Time? Without reference to Man and his activities ? Why ?

Religious Missions Complementary.

Professor Toynbee has stated that the missions of higher religions are complementary and not competitive, that no religion can claim monopoly of *TRUTH* and that the followers of all faiths can believe in their own without denying the truth of others. He has expressed this idea in the following words:

> The missions of the higher religions are not competitive; they are complementary. We can believe in our own religion without having to feel that it is the sole repository of truth. We can love it without having to feel that it is the sole means of salvation. We can take Symmachus's words to heart without being disloyal to Christianity. We cannot harden our hearts against Symmachus without hardening them against Christ. For what Symmachus is preaching is Christian charity.[54]

Questions and Comments.

If the missions of higher religions are complementary and not competitive, does it not mean that they all are incomplete, and is it not a point to be proved or disproved? If the missions of the higher religions are complementary and not competitive, then is it not true that what is needed is not judgment between the higher religions but synthesis of essential truths and counsels ? In that case, can any mission claim uniqueness and is it not true that only the

54. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach ta Religion*, pp. 296-97.

mission which represents all of them in so far as essential truths and counsels are concerned can claim finality? How can we believe in our own religion without disbelieving in others and without claiming that our's is the sole repository of truth and the solitary means of salvation in the face of rival claims? If historian, whose profession is fact-finding and whose whole life is devoted to the task of digging out truth and discarding unnecessary accretions to history, finds it impossible to shake off ancestral accretions to his faith, who else can do so? Is the task really impossible? If so, then why should there be any fuss about it?

Religion as a Unifying Force.

A vast majority of the human race believes in the Creator. The Creator being one, there could be one and only one natural religion—the religion of God and not of any particular Prophet, Preacher or Philosopher; or, in other words, Islam—peace and submission to the Will of God and neither Brahmanism nor Buddhism, neither Confucianism nor Christianity, neither Judaism nor Jainism, etc. Since Truth is indivisible and unitary, religion, if it is true, is bound to be one.[55] That religion alone can unite the human race and establish universal peace and harmony. This world (our planet) is not without that religion: it could not be without it. It is for us to find out and follow it.

Final Faith: Enquiry.

As one engaged in the investigation of truth, the historian's approach to religion should not stop at the 'presumption' that the eight existing religions will continue to exist side by side in the same Oikoumene;[56] it should proceed further and he should

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55. See pp. 245-47, 380, 383, 420-2 of this Volume.

56. Cf. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 136.

try to find out the final faith for himself, if not for others, by a comparative study of the fundamentals, if not the features, of all faiths. He should also ascertain which religion is natural and most conducive to universal peace, prosperity and progress, which is at once Faith, State and Culture. His enquiry should commence with the questions: Should we not owe allegiance to our Creator? Why should there be so many religions when Truth is indivisibly one? Is it due to selfishness? How many of the followers of existing faiths have made a comparative study of religions and tested the superiority of their own? Have they not blindly followed the faith of their forefathers and declared them superior to all others without making an impartial comparison? Is it not evident that they are not prepared to consider the claims of any religion other than their own? Is not the whole world involved in self-deception, deception of fellow-beings and deception of the Creator? Has not selfishness clouded our vision? Are we not indulging in *mental lying?* Do we not profess to believe what we do not believe? How can history be history and religion be religion in such a state of society? As long as the veil is not cast off, Truth will remain invisible. As long as the really true religion is not recognized by universal agreement, the existing religions will continue to exist.[57]

Perry's Proposal.

Professor Perry has devoted his time and attention to the study of religion and expressed his views on God, traditional religion, faith, particular religions and universal religion. A hurried survey such as this cannot go beyond providing for a short summary or sketch incorporating only more important ideas:

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57. It follows from the discussion that we must be truly religious in the matter of religion or faith. See Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason*, pp. 2-3.

Concept of God.

God is both infinitely just and inflnitely loving; he both punishes and forgives; and the Christian theologian has never clearly reconciled the one with the other. God is a person and yet he is denied those relations to a social and natural environment without which personality is meaningless. God is without flaw or blemish, and at the same time he is all-powerful and all-creative author of a world in which evil abounds.[58]

The Hebrew Prophets condemned the religion of Baál on the ground that 'Baal was a wicked god— a god of stealing, lying and adultery.[59]

It is evident from the above passages how necessary it is to have a clear and correct concept of God and trace the origin of Good and Evil. We have already probed into these problems at their proper places. Here we have nothing to add except that the reader should revert to them and refer to the original sources stated in the form of footnotes for further elucidation.[60]

Traditional Religion.

According to Perry, Religion preaches piety, but religious piety, despite its positive value as such, is open to criticism on two grounds: (1) that it does not orient the believer towards the best; and (2) that its cosmological teachings are ignorant or erroneous. Judging the Olypian religion by these two standards of criticism, he says that it invites men to worship that which is not worshipful and adds that 'the foibles, deceits, and lacheries of the Homeric gods merit condemnation, instead of which they are exalted and consecrated.' According to him,'The shocking brutalities narrated in the Old Testament are condoned by Hebraic and

58. Perry: *Realms of Value*, p. 478.
59. Nordau: *The Interpretation of History*.
60. See pages 248-50 of this Volume.

Christian piety.'[61] Here again we are confronted with the question of concept. The points raised by Professor Perry have been answered on appropriate occasions. It is for the believer to test his own belief in the light of knowledge and reason after a comparative study of higher religions or, at least, of their fundamentals and modify it, if necessary. The testing-time has come and there should be no procrastination about it.

Faith and Belief.

Faith is not to be identified with a primitive mentality below reason, or with a superhuman mentality above reason. It has its peculiar content, and it has its own peculiar justification. In this specific and justifiable sense, faith is belief, beyond the limits of theoratical proof, in the realisation of interests which are still on trial; it is justified by the psychological fact that belief in success is favourable to success. Faith is not blind. It does not ignore theoratical evidence; it does not fly in the face of the facts or turn its back on them. A belief opposed to evidence is no belief. Faith is a belief which agrees with evidence and goes ahead. It lacks proof, but it may nevertheless be true and certain, for, as has been said, neither truth nor certainty depends on proof.[62]

The faith founded on facts and firmly fixed in reason—not favoured by 'a falsely fostered feeling for history' or false historical sense—never fails and never lets down. The facts forming the basis of belief or faith may be based on argument, empirical experience and authentic evidence.

Natural Religion.

The human mind abhors a vacuum of ignorance and fills it with the works of the imagination: He prefers to fill it with 'religion that springs from the situation which confronts all mankind—that religion in general which gives a common meaning to all particular religions. It is that 'natural religion' which is rooted in natural existence; which exists in a natural environment, which requires no human faculties save man's natural faculties; and no

61. Perry: *Realms of Value*, pp. 470-71.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 490.

revelation, save empirical knowledge and a recognition of its limits. This is the religion which men would acquire if they were to start again, deprived of every inherited religious establishment.

Human mind abhors a vacuum of ignorance in the same way as Nature abhors vacuum. We have already seen how spiritual vacuum was filled by deities of different types in different religions and with the founders in the case of various philosophies including Buddhism. It is true that natural religion is that which is rooted in natural existence and which exists in natural environment; but it is equally true that it is inspired by divine revelation or *Wahi*, said to be the highest stage of vision, insight and intuition; it is in response to the eternal voice and in obedience to 'the presence behind the phenomena' or the 'power at the back of all existence.'

Universal Religion.

There is religion and there are religions. The relation of universal religion to particular religions has its parallels in every domain of human life. Every human institution has its generality and particularity. Sectarian exclusiveness acts against common mission. There is such a common mission, which is to make men aware of their common stake in the presence of their common environment. It is appropriate to any age in which all mankind, for better or for worse, has acquired a new interdependence, that this new state of human affairs should find expression, not merely in a recognized and tolerated co-existence of many religions but in a *common religion.* This common religion would not supersede particular religions, but make them members of one religious family. There is a ship on which all men are embarked, and which is launched upon the high seas of existence laden with all their painfully acquired treasure. Religion in general speaks for this perilous but hopeful voyage. It declares that this community of interest in interests makes all men, otherwise differently interested, partners in the great enterprise of replacing evil with good and good with better, so as to achieve the best possible....It is the office of religion in general and of every religion in particular to claim this proud purpose and to hearten men in its pursuit.[64]

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63. *Ibid.*, p. 391. 64. *Ibid.*, pp. 491-92.

Comments.

The recognition or profession of two faiths—one particular or local and the other general or universal—and the owning of dual or divided allegiance may hold good in certain cases in the absence of conflicts of concepts and clash of aims and ideals but not in the case af religions with contradictory ideals and clashing concepts of the Creator. Belief held by some faiths insisted that 'man's salvation rests in his escape from the torments of life,' whereas the contention of the other faiths is that 'man finds in the life a field for spiritual attainment and preparation for life in the hereafter.[65] The co-existence of particular religions—Hinduism, Buddhism (Mahayana), Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam—with one of them or one other than them as universal religion is possible, but allegiance to a particular religion as well as to the universal religion will be found impossible in the existing state of affairs. What will be the concept of the universal religion about the Creator of the Universe—strict monotheism of Islam or the Trinity of Christianity, the polytheism of Hinduism or pantheism of other faiths? It cannot combine and consist of all these conflicting concepts.[66] If it is monotheistic, Muslims will owe allegiance to it, but the professors of other faiths will not. If it is Christian Trinity, the followers of monotheistic religions will not accept it. Likewise, if it is polytheism or pantheism, the followers of Islam, Christianity, Judaism, etc. will not owe allegiance to it. There can be no compromise in matters of religion, particularly in the presence of conflicting concepts of the Creator. The problem therefore remains a problem and the solution suggested by Professor Perry cannot prove practicable.

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65. *The World Great Religions*, p. 1.

66. See Haqqani's *Al-Bayan* and pages 245, ff. of this Volume.

Hutchinson: Synthesis of Beliefs.

Dr. Paul Hutchinson, who too has studied the problem, has stated that 'mankind's future spiritual welfare would be insured if the major religions would recognise their essential unity of purpose and drop their differences to merge in a synthesis of the beliefs on which they agree.'[67] The call for a common religion or union of faiths is gathering momentum and deserves careful consideration.

> These are critical days for religion. The enormous changes being wrought by technology in every life on every continent and at every level of social advancement and even more enormous changes which we can foresee with our dawning perception of the forces of the atomic age, make it imperative that man be saved from the most demonic and destructive of all idolatries—self-worship. Each great religion portrayed in this book attempts to save man from following the road of self-worship to the City of Destruction. All will accomplish that purpose to the extent that, in the words of the Prophet Micah, they inspire man to justify, and to have mercy and to walk humbly with (his) God.[68]

Dr. Hutchinson has hit the mark, but the difficulty is that all the great religions of the world, except Islam, have lost their original luminance and their Message is covered with cobwebs, woven round them by their self-seeking followers. Again, the synthesis of their fundamentals, e. g. monotheism, Trinity, polytheism, etc., if accomplished without reference to them, would make confusion worse confounded. Such a synthesis of religions, fundamentals or foremost features of faiths as suggested by scholars like Toynbee, Perry and Hutchinson was attempted by Akbar in the 16th century, but the result was a total failure. According to Dr. Smith, it was 'a monument of his folly and not of his wisdom.' Long before him Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji also contemplated a similar project but gave up

67. *World's Great Religions*, p. 4. 68. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

the idea on the advice of Ala-ul-Mulk, Kowal of Delhi.[69] Finally, the *divine origin* of religion (so is the claim of each faith) prevents the possibility of such a synthesis being undertaken and accomplished by *human agency*. Unfortunately, Dr. Hutchinson's approach to the problem is selfish—protection of humanity—and not spiritualistic—communion with the Creator. The fear of the total extinction of the human race rather than love of God is driving some of the modern thinkers to religion. This is self-deception. A close and comparative study of world religions reveals that Islam presents the synthesis of all monotheistic faiths in the spiritual sense and Hinduism presents the synthesis of all other types of religion in the materialistic sense. Therefore, no further synthesis on the same lines seems to be necessary now. The choice lies between the two—Islam and Hinduism.

Westernization of the East.

How the wave of Westernization has influenced the East and with what results will be evident from the following picture drawn up by Professor Ashby:

> Anyone who has lived in the East even for a limited period has been struck by the number of young men and women who have not only given up the religion of their fathers, but who in the process have declared their independence of the total heritage of their native land. The fact that total separation from their heritage is impossible has only increased the tragedy, for it has created individuals who in their desire to become Western have only succeeded in being neither Western nor Eastern.[70]

69. *Vide infra* pp. 399, ff. Here is an extract from Ala-ul-Mulk's advice to Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji:

"Religion and law spring from heavenly revelations; they are never established by the plans aud designs of men....... The prophetic office has never appertained to kings, and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some prophets have discharged the functions of royalty." See Sharma: *The Crescent in India*, p. 99; Smith: *History of India*, pp. 183-4; *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 209, 222.; Jaffar: *The Mughal Empire*, pp. 128, ff.; Ishwari Prasad: *History of Mediaeval India*, pp. 246-47.

70. Ashby quoted in *The World's Great Religions*, p. 4.

General Questions.

Some of the serious questions that could crop up after a perusal of the passages reproduced above have been posed at their proper places and some more are stated hereunder for facilitating further discussion on the same subject—investigation of Truth or One Religion and approach thereto—*First*: Keeping in view the 'deposition' of God in the West, is it not right to say that the East in general and the Muslim World in particular rightly resented and, where possible, vigorously resisted the Wave of Westernization?[71] *Second:* When Truth or Absolute Reality is *one*, when the missions of higher religions are complementary and not competitive and when universal truths and counsels are enshrined in all the higher religions, as stated by Professor Toynbee, what is the snag in accepting one which is the best of them all, which possesses all the truths and counsels and which responds to the reasonble and righteous requirements of all people, at all times, at all places and at all levels?[72] *Third*: If all the higher religions are true, is it not logical to conclude that only the last of them can correctly claim finality? *Fourth*: In this age of physical unification when the stage has been set for a Universal State, a Universal Brotherhood and a Universal Religion, should we not sink our differences, start with self-reform, resort to one religion, fill up the spiritual vacuum, restore the missing soul and fulfil the purpose for which Man was created? *Fifth*: If in the Westernizing World, Religion is really the last refuge for mankind, as stated,[73] is it not the duty of all human beings to find out that religion which

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71. Jaffar: *Confessions of British Statesmen* published in *The Pakistan Times*, May 10, 1957.

72. This necessitates a comparative study of higher religions, which is briefly attempted here and which will be developed further in the Volume on *The Role of Religions in Future*.

73. Perry: *Realms af Value*, p. 492; Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 249; *The World's Great Religions*, p. 8.

can really provide the requisite refuge? *Sixth:* Why have the people of the West discarded their ancestral religion and caused spiritual vacuum—influenced by material advance or disgusted with the faith found wanting in satisfying the spiritual urge and scientific attitude, or due to some other cause? *Seventh:* Is it not the duty of all human beings in general and the historians in particular to break out of their self-centredness and perform a real 'self-transcending feat.'?[74]

Comparative Study of Religions.

If Absolute Truth or Reality is One and if there is but one way to it, if spiritual unification is the end in view and if that end is to be achieved, we must have one religion. If it is true that 'eternal voice' is one, that all the higher religions of the world are of divine origin, that the Message in each case was the Message of God, that it had to be sent again and again to keep it afresh and free from omissions and interpolations, then it follows that the final message is the one to be followed, patricularly when it is proved to be perfect and tested to be true. What is that one religion which is also final? Islam—Submission to the Will of God and Peace with Him and with His People. This is the result of a comparative study of religions, which is broadly outlined here. 'No great religion has swept into world prominence since Islam some 1300 years ago.'[75] No claim can be advanced for *Godhood*, if this word can be used to represent the rival institution which is now dead. The concept of Prophethood in Islam is so high that it has been found impossible to rise up to or to approach that level, and again, the finality of the institution has closed the doors for future claims. The perfection of Prophethood in the personality of the Holy Prophet, the completion of the constitution

74. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 6, ff.

75. Hutchinson: *The World's Great Religions*, p. 1, ff.

or code in the Holy Quran and the culmination of the Divine Message or Eternal Voice in Islam put an end to the rise of more religions in the right sense of the word. This claim is founded on five fundamental facts. The Message, the Model and the Mission are (1) historic and hence authentic, (2) relatively perfect and full, (3) absolutely complete and comprehensive, (4) positively practical and practicable and (5) essentialy divine in origin and essence.

(1) **Historicity : Authenticity.**

With the solitary exception of Islam and its Apostle, or the Message and the Model, the accounts of all the faiths and their founders or the Message and the Messengers have not come down to us in extenso and intact. Consequently, they are not authentic enough to be included in history in the right sense of the word and regarded as integral parts of right religion. The message of the faiths founded on mythology and the missions of their founders must be judged accordingly.[76] Very little is known about Zoroaster who has thousands of followers even now. In fact, his historical existence is challenged by many and those who do believe have nothing but conjectures to rely upon. The little that is known about his date and place of birth, his family, caste and creed, the message he brought and preached, present problems which prevent him from being made a model for mankind.[77] The destruction of evidence may be attributed to the enmity of the Greeks or some other cause, but the fact remains that it is missing and the modern mind is not prepared to believe what is

76. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion* pp. 280-81. See *Mythology* in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, etc.

77. Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 31-32; Karaka: *History of the Parsis*, Vol. ii, pp. 146, ff. Also see Zoroaster in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *The Great Religions of the World* and *The World's Great Religions*.

based on mere conjectures.[78] Despite the phenomenal triumphs of Buddhism with the support of such Imperial patrons as Asoka and Kanishka, the life of Buddha has remained shrouded in mist and mystery, so much so that until recently he was regarded as 'a legendary figure.' Excepting the little that is established with the help of ambassadorial relations of the Greek rulers with the Hindu Rajahs, almost all that is known about Buddha is legendary.[79] Still more uncertain is the life-account of Mahavira, the founder of Jainism.[80] What is true of Buddha and Mahavira is also true of Confucius whose followers count in crores.[81] What do we know about Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Christ and other Prophets and the messages they brought? The fragments that have survived and are still open to doubt cannot provide material for the guidance of humanity for all times, in all aspects and at all levels, either individually or collectively. Most of what we know about Moses is derived from the *Torah* or *Old Testament*. But what is the authenticity of a work which came into existence centuries after his demise and which is full of discrepancies?[82] Coming to Christ and Christianity, we find the Massage focussed in four Books which are recognized by the Christians, otherwise the number of the *Bibles* is greater than that. None of the authors of these Books was a contemporary of Christ. All of them are based on hearsay and it is doubted whether they are correctly attributed to

78. *Sulaiman Nadvi: Khutbat-i-Madras*, p. 32; Murzban: *The Parsis in India*, Vol. i, pp. 178, ff.

79. See Buddha and Buddhism in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; *The Great Religions of the World*; *The World's Great Religions*; and *The Religions of India*.

80. For Mahavira see the works cited in footnote 79.

81. For Confucius and his philosophy, see *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *The World's Great Religions*.

82. Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 33-34. Shibli: *Sirat-un-Nabi*, Vol. i. pp. 4. ff. Also consult *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* on the lives and scriptures of these and other Prophets.

the four alleged compilers. We are not certain about the language and the date of compilation. Viewing Christ's 'Birth, Death and Trinity' together, some American critics have declared them as a mere imitation of Greek and Roman mythology and his existence as purely legendary.[83] We have already cited evidence in support of the fact that all religions other than Islam have sprung up from the same source—mythology—and we can now conclude that all of them, except Islam and its founder, lack undisputed historicity.[84]

—of Islam and Its Apostle.

Islam fully fulfils the first condition (historicity or authenticity) prescribed for the test of true religion. Its message, mission and model are historical in the strictest sense of the word. The message (Quran) has remained intact and there can be no doubt about its authenticity. Its mission or the task it aimed to accomplish — the establishment of the Faith, the State and the Culture — is equally historical and authentic, being based on the same source. The model presented by the Holy Prophet — the various aspects of his life — are available in the form of proven evidence.[85] The first and foremost source of information about his life and work is the Holy Quran which stands unrivalled in historicity and authenticity. It gives us a glimpse of his life and mission as *Amin* or trustworthy, relied upon by friends and foes alike, as Apostle and his work, his fights with his enemies, his character and conduct, his devotion to the cause of

83. See Christ and Christianity in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *The Great Religions af the World*, *The World's Great Religions*. Also see *The Age of Reason* by Thomas Paine, pp. 91, ff.

84. See pages 261, ff. of this Volume. The word 'Islam' is used as the Eternal Message of God.

85. Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 48, ff.; Shibli: *Sirat-un-Nabi*, Volume i, pp., 1, ff.; Haqqani: *Al-Bayan*, pp. 650, ff.

truth, his ascent (Mi'raj), etc.[86] The second source is the *Sunnah* or his acts and sayings preserved by his followers. As a storehouse of information about one personality, it is unique. Besides stimulating scientific research, it gave rise to the science of biography (*Asma-ur-Rijal*) and the biographical accounts of not less than one lac of individuals.[87] The third source comprises what are known as *Maghazi*, i. e. accounts of Islamic (defencive) wars and the events connected with them. Of these, the *Maghazis* of Urwa *bin* Zubair (d. 94 H.), Zuhri (d. 12 H.), Musa *bin* Uqba (d. 11 H), Ibn Is-haq (d. 50 H.), Ziad Bakai (d. 18 H.) and Waqidi (d. 207 H.) deserve specific mention.[88] The fourth source consists of universal histories, of which the first part is devoted to the life of the Holy Prophet. Prominent among the works of this class are the *Tabaqat-i-Ibn Sa'd*, *Tarikh-ur-Rusul wal Maluk* of Imam Abu Jafar Tabari, *Tarikh Saghir-o-Kabir* of Imam Bukhari, *Tarikh of* Ibn Habban, etc.[89] The fifth source is the survey of the spiritual achievements and miracles of the Holy Prophet. The literature on the subject consists of books known as *Kutb-i-Dalail*, e. g. the *Dalail-ul-Nabuwat* of Abu Is-haq Harabi (d.255 H.), the *Dalail-ul-Nabuwat* of Abu Qaitaba (d. 576 H.), the *Dalail* of Imam Baihaqi (d. 430 H.), Abu Naim Isfahani (d. 430 H.), Mustaghfari (d. 432 H.) and Abul Qasim Ismail Isfahani (d.535 H.), and the *Khasais-Kubra* of Imam Jalal-ud-din Sayuti (d. 911 H.).[90] The sixth source is the literature on morals and manners, habits and hobbies, character and conduct. The earliest and the most famous book on the subject is said to be the *Kitab-ush-Shamail* of Imam Tirmizi (d. 279 H.), which has claimed copious commentaries from the *Ulama* of considerable standing and erudition. Other works of the same class are *Kitab-ush-Shifa fi Haquq-ul-Mustafa*

86. Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, p. 67.

87. *Ibid.* 88. *Ibid.* 89. *Ibid.*, p. 68. 90. *Ibid.*

of Qazi Ayaz and its commentary by Shihab Khifaji entitled *Nasim-ur-Riaz*; *Shamail-un-Nabi* of Abul Abbas Mustaghfari (d. 432 H.) *Shamail-un-Nur-us-Sati'* of Ibnul Ma'qri of Gharnata (d. 252 H.) and *Safr-us-Saada* of Majad-ud-din of Firozabad (d. 817 H.).[91] The seventh source covers accounts of the holy cities of Mecca and Madina and the places which, within these cities, had someting to do with the life of the Holy Prophet, and includes such books as *Akhbar-i-Mecca by* Fakahi and *Akhbar-i-Madina* by Ibn Zubala.[92] Such was the stimulous given by the life of the Holy Prophet to the Study of History. According to a non-Muslim critic, the biographers of the Prophet Muhammad form a long series it is impossible to end but in which it would be honourable to find a place.[93] In short, the personality of the Holy Prophet of Islam is so historic and authentic that it is impossible to deny it without being guilty of gross misrepresentation and injustice. According to John Devonport, there is no doubt that none of the conquerors and law-givers of the world has had a more detailed and authentic biographical accounts than *Hazrat* Muhammad.[94] Rev. B. Smith has also expressed similar views.[95]

(2) Relative Perfection & Fullness of Faiths.

Looking at the life-accounts of the founders of various faiths and the sacred scriptures they brought, we find that they are deficient, because they are based on deficient data: Time and tide have taken a heavy toll and age-long accumulated accretions have overclouded their essence—the eternal voice.[96] No Book,

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91. *Ibid.* 92. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

93. Margoliouth: *Muhammad* quoted. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

94. John Devonport: *Apology for Muhammad and the Koran* quoted. *Ibid.*

95. Rev. Bosworth Smith: *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, p. 15. quoted *Ibid.*

96. Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 36, ff., 74, ff.; Shibli: *Sirat-un-Nabi*, Vol. 1. pp. 3, ff.

except the Holy Quran, has come down to us in full and no life-account of the founder of any faith except *Hazrat* Muhammad has passed on to posterity in extenso from the date of birth to the date of demise. The biography of Buddha is conspicuous more for gaps, dim and dark spots than for whatever little information we have extracted from mere myths and sophisticated stories in stone.[97] We know still less about the life of Zoroaster and his mission and the little we know is amazingly full of speculation. One who has conducted research on his life has come to the conclusion that 'we are totally unaware of the age of Zoroaster.' What more can we know about him and from what sources?[98] As we have it, his life cannot serve as a model for mankind. Of Moses, whose life, we learn, lasted for 120 years, we know nothing more than his up-breeding in the palace of Pharaoh, his aid to the Israelites against the atrocities committed by the followers of Pharaoh on one or two occasions, his flight from Egypt to Madain followed by his return to Egypt after some time and the declaration of *Nabuwat* (Prophetic Mission) on the way, his visit to Pharaoh and miracles, his request for taking the Israelites to Egypt and its fate; his departure from Egypt with his followers, his passage through the Nile and the drowning of Pharaoh, his entry into Arabia and Syria with his party, his fights with the infidels and death on a hill. The five Books of the *Torah*, (*Old Testament*), as they are, deal with the unity of God, His Laws and conditions of sacrifice, but they tell us nothing as to how the principles and precepts of

97. *Ibid*. See Buddha and Buddhism in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*., *The Great Religions of the World*, *The World's Great Religions* and *The Story oj Civilization—Our Oriental Heritage*.

98. See Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Karaka: *History of the Parsis*, Vol. ii, pp. 146. ff. Murzban: *The Parsis in India*, Vol. i, pp. 178, ff.; and Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 36-37.

Judaism were put into practice by him.[99] In short, the life of Moses, incomplete and imperfect, as we have it, cannot provide perfect guidance for the whole of the human race. And, what do we know about Christ who claims the largest number of followers as compared to the followers of other faiths? We know much less about him than about the founders of other faiths, despite the fact that his followers have dominated the world and carried out remarkable research in the fields of religion, history, archaeology and other kindred subjects. According to the Holy Bible, which is full of interpolations and contradictions, Christ had a life of 33 years. All that the Bible tells us about him relates to the last three years of his life. These three years of his life are noted for his miracles, sermons and crucifiction.[100]

The sum and substance of the foregoing discussion is that the accounts of Messages and Messengers of all religions other than Islam are incomplete and imperfect and that they cannot provide a model for and meet the requirements of the whole of mankind at all levels. As such, the followers of none of them can claim finality for anyone of them.

—of Muhammad and his Mission.

So far as the second standard is concerned, Islam again presents a brilliant exception. We have a complete account of the life of Muhammad from the date of his birth to the date of his demise—childhood, youth and old age—, covering the whole sphere of his movements on the earth and in the heavens, at home and in

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99. *Al-Quran*, *Old Testament*, *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Shibli No'mani: *Sirat-un-Nabi*, Vol. i, pp. 2-5; Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 37-39.

100. *The Bible*; *Al-Quran*; *Qasas-ul-Ambiya*. Also see Christ and Christianity in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *The Great Religions of the World: The World's Great Religions*; S. Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 39-40, Haqqani: *Al-Bayan*, pp. 650, ff.

travel, in peace and war, in the *masjid* and on the battlefield, at food and at prayer, etc. In short, no act of his was left unnoticed and no utterance was left unpreserved. We can get a glimpse of his inner life from his close relatives. It was so pure and pious that no secrecy was observed about it.[101] The Message (Al-Quran) is as complete as the Model, the life-account of the Messenger. Time and tide have failed to make any encroachment on either.[102]

(3) **Comprehensiveness.**

To be universal, a religion must be fully comprehensive in the sense that its message and the model prescribed by it must be so wide in spirit, substance and scope as to embrace all aspects of human life and all the requirements of human beings at all times, in all climes and at all levels.[103] In this sense, all true religions before the rise of Islam under the Holy Prophet were limited and wanting in this essential quality. They were meant for a limited and not for a fully grown humanity. They were relatively perfect and complete. They were rightly so for their own periods and not for the periods that followed. Hinduism with all its elasticity, adaptability and docility, admired by Swami Abhedananda and his school, is so comprehensive as to include in it what a right religion must discard and do away with. How it has differentiated between man and man and set up watertight compartments within itself is the outcome of the caste system which it has championed to such an extent that it has continued to our own times. The survival of untouchability and the untouchables *en block* is a standing proof of the position of men in the fold of

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101. *Al-Quran*; Ishaq: *Sirat-Rasul-Allah*; Ibn Hisham: *Sirat*; Shibli and Nadvi: *Sirat-un-Nabi*; Aulad Haidar: *Uswat-ur-Rasul*; *Nasikh-ut-Tawarikh*, etc.

102. Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, p. 40.

Hinduism.[103] The Hinayana form of Buddhism created a spiritual vacuum in human soul and suppressed the spiritual urge in human beings by discarding Divinity. The Mahayana form of Buddhism filled in the vacuum with Buddha.[104] As such, it is rightly claimed as part of Hinduism. Other shortcomings apart, Zoroastrianism has closed its doors to all outsiders and thus confessed that it has no claim to become a universal religion.[105] The life of Moses manifests only one aspect—military. It provides little guidance for his followers on *Haquq-ul-Ibad* (what man owes to mankind), his duties and responsibilities, terms of treaties, methods of administration, use of money on public welfare, treatment of poor persons, patients, orphans and travellers, relations between husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister, etc. As a prophet he must have been a model for mankind, but the absence of evidence to that effect has deprived us of the benefit of his virtuous life. Had he come as the last Prophet with the last (final) Message, his followers would have preserved the whole account of his life. It was not so destined.[106] Christ outshone others in humility and love of humanity. He lived all his life as a subject and therefore affords no experience of a ruler and commander. He was a bachelor all his life and we get no guidance from him in family life. According to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, if all human beings were to follow him (remain unmarried), the whole world would become a grave.[107]

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103. See Hinduism and Brahmanism in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*; *The Great Religions of the World*; *The World's Great Religions*: *The Religions of India, India and Her People, The Hindu Way of Life*; *An Advanced History of India.*

104. See Buddhism in the works cited in footnote 103.

105. See Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism. *Ibid.* Also see Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 40, ff. ; *The World's Great Religions*, pp. 7-8; Karaka: *History of the Parsis*; etc.

106. Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp.43-44. 107. *Ibid.*, p.44.

—of the Quran and Islam.

The Prophet was as perfect in his character and conduct as the Quran was complete and comprehensive in contents. Nothing that was necessary for the guidance of mankind was wanting in either. Whether as an orphan or as a patron of orphans, as a family man or a peace-maker, as a law-giver or a statesman, as a son or a father, as a brother or a friend, etc., in the home, in the *masjid* or in the field, etc., we have a complete account of his life and an ideal example for us to follow.[108] He possessed all the qualities which every human being should try to assimilate and develop: singleness of purpose, patience and perseverence, forbearance and endurance, firmness of faith and submission to the Will of the Lord, devotion to duty and struggle for success, selflessness and sense of sacrifice, etc. Whereas the life af Noah presents the best specimen of sentiments against irreligion and atheism, that of Abraham against idolatry, that of Moses battling against the enemies, military organisation and legislation; that of Christ of humility and humanity, forgiveness and forbearance; that of Solomon of splendour and supremacy; that of Job of patience and perseverence, that of Joseph of charm and chastity; etc., the life of the Holy Prophet of Islam presents a complete combination of all the best qualities with which others were individually endowed.[109] He was called *Ummi* in the sense that he was not educated or taught by anyone in this world. He was educated by Allah and most highly endowed with the *Ilm-ul-Ladunni* or 'Inward Knowledge,' which we have

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108. *Ibid.* pp. 121, ff. and footnote 101 of this Chapter.

109. This historical fact is embodied in the following verses:

حسن یوسف دم عیسٰے ید بیضٰے داری - آنچہ خوباں همه دارند تو تنہا داری

یا صاحب الجمال و یا سید البشر - من وجهک المنیر لقد نور القمر

لا یمکن الثناء کما کان حقه - بعد از خدا بزرگ توئی قصه مختصر

already defined and described. In this sense all the Twelve Imams of his House were *Ummi* because they were not educated in any school and under any teacher outside their own house. They had come to teach and not to be taught.[110]

(4) **Practicability.**

Finally, a religion that aspires to become universal must also be practicable. It must be natural and consistent with human nature. Its teachings must be capable of being translated into action and its teacher must give a practical demonstration of all that he preaches.[111] The founders of religions and philosophies did place before the people ideals *par excellence*, but how many of them gave a practical proof of their use and importance and what guidance is now available for posterity to act upon? Take, for instance, the teachings of Buddha and their practicability. Who will be prepared to follow his example: leave his parents and palace, desert his homeland, part with his beautiful wife and son, give up the sweet company of faithful friends, etc., pass his youth in jungles on meditation and end his life as a hermit?[112] Or take the case of Christ and say who will follow his example: lead the life of a blameless bachelor, turn his left cheek also when slapped on the right, or give away his coat when stripped of his shirt, or part with his throne when robbed of his crown, etc.? The teachings of Christ and Christianity will certainly suit the *City of God* but by no means the *City of Man*. What will happen if Christianity is accepted as the sole religion of the world and Christ as the only model for the whole of mankind?[113] Adam, endowed with knowledge,

110. See pp. 340-40 and footnotes 43-56 of this Volume.
111. Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 44, ff., 121, ff.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 42. Also see works cited in footnote 103.
113. Sulaiman Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 44-43. Also see works cited in footnote 100.

will be an excellent teacher; Noah, gifted with wisdom, will be an ideal adviser, John with his piety will excel as a preacher, Abraham with his fidelity will be a most favourable friend, Moses with his might may prove an ideal warlord and Christ with his love as a superb specimen of doctor.[114] Their teachings might suit specific cases but not the whole of humanity. Universal religion must present universal model—one which must be capable of representing all shades of life in the widest sense of the word. In other words, the Message and the Model to be followed by the whole of mankind must be practicable and there ought to be no distance between words and deeds.

—of Islam and its Founder.

The Messenger of Islam was as practical as the Message was practicable. There was no distance between words and deeds, as commonly seen. The Prophet put into practice all that he preached. This is because he was sent as a model for the whole of mankind. This is fully borne out by the evidence that has come down to us.[115] Herein lies the secret of his success. If he was a model for men, his daughter, Fatima-taz-Zahra, was a model for women. Such was the force of his character and the message he brought that even the critics of Islam have had to admit the truth. We will cite a few instances in support of this statement.

> It is not the propagation but the permanency of his (Muhammad's) religion that deserves our wonder; the same pure and perfect impression which he engraved at Mecca and Madina is preserved, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, by the Indian, the African and the Turkish proselytes of the Quran.[116]

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114. S. Nadvi: *Khutbat-i-Madras*, pp. 23, 106-7. See *Hadis-i-Tashbih* in the Collections of *Ahadis*.

115. See works cited in foonote 101 of this Chapter.

116. Gibbon: *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. iii, p. 527.

Islam emerged into the civilized outer world, not as the crude superstition of marauding hordes, but as a moral force that commanded respect and a coherent doctrine that could challenge on their own ground the Christianity of East Rome and the Zoroastrianism of Persia.[117]

The *Quran* abounds with arguments drawn from Nature and Providence, with a view to prove the existence of God as the Supreme Ruler, and enforces his sovereign claim on the obedience and gratitude of mankind. The retribution of good and evil in the world to come, the obligation to follow virtue and eschew vice, the duty and happiness of the creature in worshipping and serving the Creator, and such like topics are set forth in language of beauty and vigour abounding often with real poetry. Thus, also the reasonableness of Resurrection is taught by many forcible considerations and especially by the analogy, so striking in Southern climes, of the earth long dry and dead, quickened suddenly into exuberent life by the copious rains from heavens.

There is probably in the world no other work which has remained twelve centuries with as pure a text.

We hold the *Kor'an* to be as surely Muhammad's word as the Muhammadans hold it to be the word of God.[118]

The Quran spoke so powerfully and convincingly to the hearts of his hearers as to weld hitherto centrifugal and antagonistic elements into one compact and well-organised body, animated by the ideas far beyond that which had until then ruled the Arabian mind. And its eloquence was so perfect that it created a civilized nation out of savage tribes and shot a fresh woof into the warps of history.[119]

Islam prevailed because it was the best social and political order the times could offer......It was the broadest, freshest and cleanest political idea that had yet come into actual activity in the world and it offered better terms than any other to the mass of mankind.[120]

Additional Argument.

The additional argument in favour of Islam being accepted as the sole religion of the world is that all

117. Gibb: *Muhammadanism*, p. 4.

118. Von Hammer quoted. Muir: *Life of Muhammad*, p. xxviii. Also see pp. xxii, ff. *Ibid.*

119. Von Kremer: *Cultureschichte des Orients* quoted. A. M. Din: *The Arabian Prophet*, pp. 288-89.

120. H. G. Wells: *Outlines of History*, p. 425.

other faiths have forfeited their claims for reasons other than those outlined above. Hinduism, with its unrestrained adaptability for assimilation of all sorts of beliefs has cancelled its own claim to belief in one.[121] Whereas in theory it has provided for every faith within its fold, it has refused to permit open-arm reception of the followers of other faiths and the presence of millions of untouchables in India is an eloquent testimony to this hard fact. It could not assimilate or make room for Islam because by repeatedly pronouncing that the Prophet Muhammad was a humble servant or slave of God, the Quran had closed the door for deification in Islam. In fact Hinduism is not a faith but an order—'not a sect but a fellowship.' The latest view or verdict on it is that of S. Radhakrishna, who says:

> Hinduism requires every man to think steadily on life's mystery until he reaches the highest revelation. While the lesser forms (including idols and images) are tolerated in the interests of those who cannot suddenly transcend them, there is in all through an insistence on the larger idea and purer worship... Every man has a right to choose that form of belief which most appeals to him ..Hinduism is not a sect but a fellowship of all who accept the law of right, and earnestly seek for truth.[122]

I have to offer no comments on the passage except that the difference of concepts about the Creator, worship, law of right and truth is responsible for the stay of so many religions. This is equally aptly illustrated by Zoroastrianism. Shocked at the primitive deities and the Dionysian ritual, Zoroaster denounced them all and 'rebelled against the 'Magi' of priests who prayed and sacrified to them.' He proclaimed to the world 'one God—Here Ahura Mazda, the Lord of Light and Heaven, of whom all other gods were

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121. See pages 267-68 and 407-08 of this Volume.

122. S. Radhakrishna: *The Hindu Way of Life* quoted in *The World's Great Religions*, p. 9.

but manifestations and qualities.' According to Zoroaster, 'the whole circle of the heavens' was God—Ahura Mazda who 'clothes himself with the solid vault of the firmament as his raiment; his body is the light and the sovereign glory; the sun and the moon are his eyes.' Subsequently, when 'religion passed from prophets to politicians,' the great deity found its focus in the reigning sovereign—with imposing majesty. 'And the Undying Fire of the skies, the Sun, was adored as the highest and characteristic embodiment of Ahura Mazda or Mithra.'[123] No more criticism on Zoroastrianism except that 'it has closed its ranks to all outsiders' and thus forfeited its claim to become the sole religion of the world.[124] Devoid of Divinity, the Hinayana form of Buddhism does not come within the ring of religions. As a philosophy, it has been considered separately. What is true of Hinduism is equally true of the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which has virtually become a phase of the main movement. Taoism: "Lao Tzu, supposedly contemporary of Confucius, preached a retreat from civilization to nature in order to attain harmony with Tao, 'eternal way' or supreme governing force behind the universe'. In a broader sense, it was a mixture of magic and religion, dating from the 2nd century. Its Credo was lost in myths and magic."[125] Shintoism: The Sino-Japanese term *Shinto* stands for Japanese *kami no michi*, which means 'The Way of the Gods.' Shintoism is a system, both religious and political, which passed through three stages: (1) 'primitive nature-worship or polydemonism', (2) 'higher nature-worship or sheer polytheism' and (3) 'advanced cultural religion'—insisting on 'ancestor-

123. Durant: *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. i, Our Oriental Heritage, pp. 364, ff.

124. Hutchinson: *The World's Great Religions*, pp. 7-8.

125. *The World's Great Religions*, pp. 7, 84, 85.

worship' all along its evolution and culminating in 'Mikadoism or worship of the Mikado or Japanese Emperor as a divinity.'[126] The Judaic concept of God—Yahweh who had become the parochial god of a community of Nomads, who had led his 'Chosen people' in an aggresive war was not 'a promising medium for an approach to Reality.'[127] The followers of Judaism have awaited and are still waiting for the Messiah. If the Messiah had to come, as expected, and if Christianity and Islam are recognised as true religions, then he has already appeared either as Jesus Christ or as Muhammad Mustafa.[128] Christianity, which claims crores of followers all over the world, appears to have become a spent-up force. It has lost its hold on Western Christiandom in spite of powerful official patronage.[129] Whether 'the spiritual vacuum' in the West will be refilled with it is a question which future can answer with precision, but indications are all against such a possibility. If, therefore, I am not flattering my vanity, Islam alone remains in the field. While Buddhism and Hinduism are rightly regarded as 'life denying', Judaism, Christianity and Islam are looked upon as 'life-affirming' faiths.[130] How far Judaism, Christianity and Islam are 'life-affirming faiths' is evident from the foregoing discussion and the notices scattered over this volume and how they have fared in the test is also evident. We will close this comparative study of religions on a note recorded by Hegel to the effect that religion is 'the keynote of all progress' describing 'Judaism to typify duty, Confucianism order, Muhammadanism justice, Buddhism

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126. Jurji: *The Great Religions of the World*, pp. 141, ff., Price: *The Religions of the World*, pp. 61, ff.

127. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 85.

128. This is denied by the Jews. See p. 269 of this Volume.

129. *Ibid.*, pp. 99. ff. Also see Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 263, 277, ff.

130. Hutchinson: *The World's Great Religions*, pp. 1, ff.

patience and Christianity love.'[131] Actually, Islam typifies peace and submission to the Will of God and inculcates all the qualities enumerated by Hegel and many more in a superlative degree. But taking Hegel's statement as it is, it can be said with certainty that *justice* is the keynote of religion just as religion is the keynote of all progress. Justice is the foremost divine attribute on the practical side just as knowledge is on the theoratical side and Islam has laid the utmost emphasis on it and it is an article of faith with the Muslims.[132]

Precept Versus Practice.

It is contended by the critics of Hegel that his 'Idealistic scheme of history does not account for the facts of the history enacted by the *devotees*' of the faiths typified in various virtues. The same remark is equally applicable to the so-called historians who have spoiled history. Religion as well as history was rightly represented by few and misrepresented by many. The facts of the history enacted by the so-called *devotees* in either case can be accounted for by the fact that they betrayed their own badness and the badness of their beliefs: true religion and true history never taught them to enact the tragic scenes they did. It should also be borne in mind that to profess a principle is one thing and to practise it is another.

Result of Comparative Study—Islam.

The foregoing discussion has made it crystal-clear that no faith other than Islam and no founder of a faith other than *Hazrat* Muhammad can pass the test prescribed for the universal religion—that the Message and the Messenger must be truly divine, historically authentic, complete, comprehensive and practicable and must suit mankind from all points of view. The inevitable conclusion, therefore, is that so far as faiths

131. Thompson: *History* in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica.*
132. *Al-Quran,* iv: 58, 135; xvi, 90; lvii : 25.

and their founders are concerned, Islam and *Hazrat* Muhammad rise far above the rest and deserve the greatest recognition. So far as the struggle between religions and philosophies is concerned, no decision can be given without first finding out the best of all philosophies and comparing it with the best of religions. We must, therefore, turn to leading modern philosophies.

Modern Philosophies.

We have already dealt with the two historic philosophies—Confucianism and the Hinayana School of Buddhism—which are still in the field.[133] Two more philosophies have come into existence and it remains to add a brief note on either. They are Humanism and Communism.

Humanism.

Humanism as a Philosophy is the viewpoint that men have but one life to lead and shall make the most of it in terms of creative work and happiness; that human happiness is its own justification and requires no sanction in support from supernatural sources; that in any case the supernatural, usually conceived of in the form of heavenly gods of immortal heavens, does not exist; that human beings, using their own intelligence and co-operation liberally with one another, can build an enduring citadel of peace and beauty upon this earth[134]

It is evident how Humanisn has ignored the Creator and the connection between the Creator and the Creation, how it has discarded spiritual forces and moral values. It has confined itself to earthly paradise as an ideal. It aims at human happiness without defining what it is. It has ignored the human beings who have placed religion above everything else and whose whole happiness lies in spiritual life or communion with the Creator.

133. See pp. 272-75 of this Volume.

134. Carliss Lamont quoted by Hutchinson in his *Introduction to The World's Great Religions*, p. 8.

Communism.

Dr. Hutchinson has incorporated the following account of Communism in his Introduction to *The World's Great Religions :*

And finally there has emerged in contemporary history another great power over men's mind and acts—indeed, a faith—which is at once the denial of all religions and the most potent expression of secular religion ever to challenge the other faiths.

When Communism, after it had captured Russia, proclaimed its world mission, an English archbishop identified it as a 'Christian heresy.' It is more than that. Repudiating the ancient religions, as, in Marxist phraseology 'the opium of the people', Communism is a burning faith which is developing with amazing speed the structural outlines and apparatus of a church. It is a faith proclaiming the coming triumph of man over adversity and evil, and man's eventual entrance into earthly paradise. If, as a writer in the *New Testament claims*, faith is 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen,' then Communism with its promise of a classless social order and an equal sharing by all mankind in all the benefits of life, surely is a faith.[135]

As far the apparatus, what familiar ecclesiastical feature does Communism back? It has its Revealers, Marx and Lenin. It has its infallible scriptures, its orthodoxy and its heresy, its martyrs and its apostles, its hagiology and its holy office, its initiation rites and its consecrated burial grounds; it has its missionaries and heirarchies. All it does not have today is its divinities. But give the processes of human adulation another century or two to work—and the cynical gentlemen at the party controls as much time to manipulate them—and who can say that Marx and Lenin and perhaps Mao Tse-tung may not find themselves, to their amazement, amongst gods. The same has happened to other agnostics.[136]

"Madam Sun Yat-sen expressed the Communist orthodox point of view best when she said:"

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135. *For Belief* and *Disbelief* see pp. 368-9 of this Volume.

136. Hutchinson: Introduction to *The World's Great Religions*, p. 8.

> Confucian teachings are feudalistic and autocratic from beginning to end We must realise how deeply Confucian influences have been imbedded in our art, literature, social sciences and morals. We must make great efforts to uproot Confucian ideas from every nook and corner of our life and thought.[137]

In their ultimate analysis all great, major or world religions boil down to Islam and all systems and philosophies to Communism. In other words, the actual competition between religion and irreligion or God and no God is between Islam and Communism. If Communism upholds the cause of humanity, so does Islam. Islam does it in the best possible way, without creating complications and without depriving the creation of its connection with the Creator. Instead of condemning the abuse of religion by interested individuals and institutions, Communism is trying to kill religion and exploiting the prejudice against so-called religion in its own favour. The castle of Communism shall stand on sands as long as it does not prove that the whole world is autogenous and that there is no Creator, unless it bids good-bye to the State, so necessary for the maintenance of peace and tranquility, which religion aims it, unless it discards all the methods and paraphernalia of religion which it has adopted,[138] and unless it succeeds in restoring life to the dead and wiping out the word *death* from the dictionary.

Role of Religion in Future.

With the advance of Science and Reason, the rigours of the test to which Religion will be put will increase and only one Religion—the Right Religion—will remain in the field. The role of that Religion in future will be far greater and far more effective than that of any or all religions together in the past, be-

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137. Quoted in *The World's Great Religions*, p. 89.

138. See pages 368-69 of this Volume.

cause mental lying and blind belief shall have no room in the reign of reason.[139] It will be imperative to resort to reason and rationalize religion, reject and renounce all that is unreasonable or irreligious.[140] Dealing with the same subject and denouncing all that was unreasonable, Thomas Paine established the existence of God in the eighteenth century, characterized by him as 'The Age of Reason', in the following words:

> It is only in the Creation that all our ideas and conceptions of a *word of God* can unite. The Creation speaketh an universal language, independently of human speech or human language, multiplied and various as they may be. It is an ever-existing original, which every man can read. It cannot be forged, it cannot be counterfeited; it cannot be lost; it cannot be altered; it cannot be suppressed. It does not depend upon the will of man whether it shall be published or not; it published itself from one end of the earth to the other. It preaches to all nations and to all worlds; and the word of God reveals to man all that is necessary for men to know of God.[141]
>
> Do we want to contemplate his power? We see it in the immensity of the Creation. Do we want to contemplate his wisdom? We see it in the unchangeable order by which the incomprehensible whole is governed. Do we want to contemplate his munificence? We see it in the abundance with which he filled the earth. Do we want to contemplate his mercy? We see it in his not withholding that abundance even from the unthankful.[142] In fine, do we want to know what God is? Search not the book

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139. Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason*, pp. 2-3.

140. See pp. 365, ff. of this Volume.

141. Iqbal has expressed the same idea in these verses;

کوه و صحرا دشت و دریا بحروبر - تختهٔ تعلیم ارباب نظر

It is based on the teachings of Islam. *Vide Al-Quran*, 11: 164, x: 100, xiii: 20, ff., xiv: 32, xxv: 27-28, xxx: 9,62, xliv: 38-39, lxvii: 3, etc.

142. This attribute of God is beautifully expressed by the words *Rabb-ul-Alamin*. *Al-Quran*, i: 1. Saadi has embodied it in the following verses:

دوستان را کجا کنی محروم - تو که با دشمنان نظرداری

called the Scripture, which any human hand might make, but the Scripture called the Creation.[143]

The only idea man can affix to the name of God is that of a *first cause*, the cause of all things.[144] And incomprehensible and difficult as it is for a man to conceive what a first cause is, he arrives at the belief of it from the tenfold greater difficulty of disbelieving it. It is difficult beyond description to conceive that space can have no end; but it is more difficult to conceive an end. It is difficult beyond the power of man to conceive an eternal duration of what we call time: but it is more impossible to conceive a time when there shall be no time.[145]

In like manner of reasoning, everything we behold carries in itself the internal evidence that it did not make itself. Every man is an evidence to himself that he did not make himself: neither could his father make himself, nor his grand-father, nor any of his race; neither could any tree, plant or animal make itself; and it is the conviction arising from this evidence that carries us on, as it were by necessity to the belief of first cause eternally existing, of a nature totally different to any material existence we know of, and by the power of which all things exist; and this first cause man calls God.[146]

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143. Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason*, pp. 34-35. Here Paine has referred to a few of the attributes of God given in the Quran. See Barq: *Do Quran*, pp. 9, ff. In this book (Two Qurans) Dr. Ghulam Jilani Barq has held the Holy Book as one and the Universe or Nature as the other and called it *Sahifa-i-Kainat*—the one as the counterpart of the other—and pointed out that God has termed the verses of the Quran and the physical phenomena or the works of Nature as *Ayat* or Signs. According to him, the Holy Book has devoted 150 verses to such topics as Prayer, Fasting, *Hajj*, *Zakat*, etc. and 756 verses to the works of Nature. According to its contents, the correct title of the book is *Sahifa-i-Kainat*, but the one chosen appears to be intended to excite curiosity. The *Quran* is one—whether spoken or uttered in words, preserved on paper or written on some other substance or conceived in mind as mental picture. See Hirvi: *Mawaiz-i-Hasana*, pp. 94-95, 114-15.

144. Ibn Maskawaih: *Al-Fauz-ul-Asghar*; Hamid: *Ibn Maskawaih*, pp. 60, ff., 116, ff.

145. Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason*, pp. 35-36.

146. *Ibid.* See *Al-Quran*, iii: 6, 83, lxxvi: 2, lxxxii: 7-8.

It is only by the exercise of reason that man can discover God. Take away that reason, and he would be incapable of understanding anything ....[147]

Thomas Paine applied his knowledge and reason to the Holy Bible and found it full of discrepancies.[148] He applied them to Revelation, which is different from *Wahi* or communication, and refused to accept it as the word of God. Here his reason was wrecked by his deficient knowledge, for he failed to differentiate between the words *Revelation* and *Wahi.*[149] Moreover, he did not know that in his argument to prove the presence of God he was faithfully following the Quranic argument.[150] The Sermon of *Imam* Jafar As-Sadiq, reported by his disciple, Mufazzal, and hence known as *Hadis-i-Mufazzal*, is an ideal argument in support of *Tauhid* or Unity of God, based on the handiwork of Nature or natural phenomena—the Creation or Cosmos called Universe. Paine had reached the heart of religion, viz. the doctrine of God, and it was not difficult for him to discover the right religion or the religion of God.[151] A closer study and a wider view of the Book, Holy Quran, would have led him to the correct conclusion. If 'Reason and Eternal Laws

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147. Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason*, pp. 35-36; Geyl: *Use and Abuse of History*, p. 19.

148. Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason*, pp. 91, ff., Haqqani: *Al-Bayan*, pp. 175 ff.; Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 153-54.

149, See pp. 280-81 of this Volume. Much of what is contained in the *Holy Quran* was already known to the world, but no one except God knew the precise text, contents, etc. of that Book until they were revealed to the Holy Prophet, *Hazrat Muhammad*. In this sense the *Holy Quran* is revelation—that which is revealed.

150. Muir: *Life of Muhammad* quoted. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

151. Allama Majlisi has reproduced the Sermon in the *Bab-ul-Sama wal Alam* of his *Bihar-ul-Anwar* and Syed Nasir Husain has translated it into Urdu as *Asrar-i-Tauhid*. See also Ellicott: *Six Addresses on the Being of God*, and Shantinatha: *Philosophy of Religion*, Vol. ii, pp. 369, ff.

of Nature were in future to be the guiding lights of mankind',[152] as Geyl has asserted, and if Religion is going to stay, [153] as Toynbee would have us believe, the role of Islam in future is bound to be dominant, because it is all Reason and Nature rolled into one. "As a religion of nature," therefore, "Islam has nothing to fear from scientific discoveries and inventions."[154] Having proved that Religion is going to stay and having decided upon the religion to be followed, it is not difficult to set out its role in future—Submission to the Will of God and Peace with Him and with all His Creation in the manner prescribed by Him—*Islam*—the eternal voice broadcast from the beginning by the Prophets from Adam to Muhammad. Referring to the greatness and glory of God side by side with the true nature of Islam, Goethe posed the question: If this be Islam, do we not all live in Islam? and Carlyle, who quoted Goethe, furnished the reply: 'Yes. All of us that have any moral life. We all live so.'[155] Noting the trends of his times, the late George Bernard Shaw expressed the same idea in a different context when he declared that the whole of Western Europe in general and England in particular would embrace Islam within a century or so.[156] This is evidently because the West, where Islam had been most maliciously misrepresented,[157] has learnt and is learning

152. Peiter Geyl: *Use and Abuse of History*, p. 19.

153. Toynbee: *An Histornian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 249.

154. *Report of the Commission on National Education*, p. 211.

155. 'That we must submit to God. That one whose strength lies in resigned submission to Him, whatsoever he does to us. For this world, and for the other: the thing He sends to us, were it death or worse than death, shall, be best; we resign ourselves to God." Carlyle: *Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History*, pp. 52-54. This is what *Islam* means—supine submission or surrender to God. See pp. 270-71 of this Volume.

156. G. B. Shaw quoted. Jaffar: *The Mughal Empire*, p. 397.

157 For the 'Calumnies of the Christians' against Islam and its Apostle, see Stubbe: *Mahmetanism*, pp. 49, ff., 209, ff. (p.t.o.)

more and more truth about it in the Age of Reason. After dealing with the common consent of the human race regarding the presence of the Supreme Being to Whom all things owe their existence and the extent to which the material Universe—its origin, evolution and existence—supports and substantiates the Presence of that Power, Bishop Ellicott has held that we cannot account for three beginnings—the beginning of the material world, the beginning of life and the beginning of mind' without reference to the Supreme Being. He says: 'We conceive the all-powerful Being whom we regard as the Efficient Cause of the Universe, not only to have fashioned all things by the power of His almighty will, but also to have called into being, by the same almighty will, that out of which they were fashioned. With regard to the beginnings of Life and Mind, he asks: 'How did they begin to be? And answers: 'We ascribe these beginnings to a Being whom we conceive to have that of which they are the beginnings, in the fullest and most boundless plenitude. Life and its beginnings we ascribe to Him whom we regard as the very fountain and essence of all Being and all Life,—mind and its beginning, to whom we shall afterwards still more clearly recognise as the One Supreme Mind of the Universe.' With

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Referring to some of such calumnies as the worship of the morning Star and Venus by the Muslims under the names Cubar or Cabar (*Allaho Akbar*) and denouncing it as 'absolutely false, Henry Stubbe stated as follows in the seventeenth century:

'No less false is the report that they (Muslims) worship Venus under the Stone called Bracthan, in which Stone they pretened you may see, if you look exactly, the linaments of that Goddess pourtraid, tho' Euthymius Zygabenus relates this, and the Saracens in their Catechism are taught to anathematise the Worship of it. Yet it is a great untruth, for this stone is no other than the Black Stone which I have already given an Account of, and which they do not worship at all, but kiss devoutly as a relick of paradise, or for some other reasons alleged by them,. . . .' *Ibid.*, p. 162. Cf. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p. 20. See pp. 369-70 of this Volume.

regard to the unity of all existence and the unity of all-creative Author, he argued:

> In the first place, it may be asserted to be distinctly proved by all the greatest discoveries of science that there is a oneness and an essential unity pervading all the realms of the material world which in itself is sufficient to raise a presumption of the oneness of that out of which this material world may be conceived to have sprung. There is no trace of duality much less of plurality of origination in the case of the material world......in our contemplation of the Universe, so far as we are enabled to extend it, whether in the elements of matter, in the already proved convertibility of most of the imponderable forces, or in the prevalence of universal laws, we are everywhere brought face to face with a unity which is as patent as it is significant and suggestive.[158]

As 'the heart of every religion is its doctrine of God', the religion that has a clear and correct concept of the Creator will be most dominant in future. The greatest of scientists and philosophers have not only conceded but confirmed the clarity, cogency and correctness of the Quranic Concept of the Creator in the most convincing terms. The place of *Tauhid* or Unity of God in Islam is exactly like that of the Sun in the Solar System. The Quranic philosophy is based on the existence and eternity of the Creator, Who is indivisibly One and Who has many attributes.[159] Once this is established, the argument in

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158. Ellicott: *Six Addresses on the Being of God*, pp. 55, ff.; Shantinatha: *Philosophy of Religion*, Vol, i, pp. 369, ff. Also see pp. 420, ff. of this Volume.

159. Some scholars are inclined to see 'a parallel' between the Trinity in the Christian thought and 'the ninety-nine names of God' in the Muslim.' (Kritzeck-Winder: *The World of Islam*, p. 56). The ninety-nine names stand for One and the same Divinity—Allah—and represent His various attributes, whereas the Christian Trinity represents three different individuals or entities—God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. Here again, we are confronted with the question of concept. If the three are the names and *attributes* of One and the same Divinity (which is not the case), the concept comes close to the Islamic Concept of God, otherwise not.

support of all other principles and practices goes on gathering strength. The Holy Quran, therefore, calls upon its readers to resort to reason and reflect on Nature and makes a universal appeal to recognize *Tauhid* through them. The Muslim Mind has not lagged behind in this field. The philosophy of religion or the science called *Ilm-ul-Kalam* had its origin in the philosophy of the Quran called *Kalam-ullah.*[160] We have already referred to the achievements of *Hazrat* Ali and his descendants, of Ibn Maskawaih and Albiruni.[161] We may round off the subject with a passing reference to the works of other Muslims in the field. The *Tajrid* of Tusi[162] and the *Sharhi Tajrid* or Commentary on the *Tajrid* by Allama Hilli and Allama Qaushji (two separate works) and the *Kitab Fasl-al-Maqal* of Ibn Rushd in defence of philosophy stand out among the earlier works and the attempts of Allama Hairi, Allama Shibli and Allama Iqbal to interpret and present Islam philosophically in our own times deserve specific mention.[163] It must be noted, however, that religious questions are extremely delicate and for that reason they must be handled most carefully even by the most competent. People less learned and lacking requisite qualifications have not only gone astray, but have misled others also. This accounts for the occasional oppostion or outburst of some theologians against the failures of philosophy.[164] The Quranic solution to the problem is: ' Ask the *Ahl-az-Zikr* (Specialists in the Scripture) and the *Rasikhuna fil Ilm* (those firmly grounded in knowledge) that which you do not know.'[165]

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160. See *al-Kalam* in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

161. See pages 40, ff. of this Volume.

162. Nasir-ud-din, the renowned *Muhaqqiq* or Researcher of Tus. Rahim: *Lubab-ul-Maarif-ul-Ilmiyah*, Vol. I, pp. 131-32.

163. See Shibli: *Al-Kalam* and *Ilm-ul-Kalam*.

164. Kritzeck-Winder: *The World of Islam*, p. 56.

165. *Al-Quran*, iii: 7, xvi: 43, xxi: 7. Also see pp. 309, 17, 345 of this Volume.

Chapter XII

ROLE OF HISTORY IN FUTURE

OUR DOUBLE DUTY

Introductory.

We have come to the final phase of the enquiry and we can now view and review the past as a whole and say something with a certain amount of surety about the Role of History in future in the light of the conclusions already drawn. As in the past, so also in future, the Role of History, like the Role of Religion, will be good if it is allowed to follow its own course and bad if it is put off its track. The motives will determine the issue involved. In view of its all-inclusive scope and over-all importance, as already indicated and emphasized, its role will be far greater in future than it was in the past. We look back in order to look forward.[1] In other words, we study the past for the edification of the future. We have pointed out the pitfalls in the field of history and the faults and failures of the historians of the past. We cannot see eye to eye with Ford that history is 'bunk', with Sir Robert Walpole that 'all history is a lie' and with Napoleon that 'history is a fable agreed upon.' We may agree with Peiter Geyl that 'certainty in history is beyond the grasp of the human mind' and that the picture of the past is like 'a caricature' or with Samuel Maunder that 'In all the records of ancient history there is a mixture of poetical fable.' But we cannot disagree with Dr. William Durant when he says: 'After making every deduction for primitive legend and pious fraud, after admitting that the historical books are not quite as accurate or as ancient

1. Burns: *Political Ideals*, pp. 11-12; Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, pp. 39 ff. Also see p. 174 of this Volume.

as our forefathers supposed, we find in them, nevertheless, not merely some of the oldest historical writing known to us, but some of the best.'[2] In other words, the historical literature that has passed down to posterity is not devoid of truth in the same way as it is not free from falsehood. With the development of modern methodology we are in a better position to differentiate between good and bad, right and wrong, true and false. History is a neutral force and it is for us to put it to the right use. We are all indebted to it for our progress and our interest in it is abiding. This being so, we have a double duty to discharge: (1) We have to rewrite the history of the past in the right sense of the word and remove all misunderstanding about it and this process of rewriting shall have to be repeated in the light of additional and authentic information from time to time; and (2) we have to pass on to posterity all the evidence about the present, original and intact in every respect and from every point of view, so that the historian of tomorrow may not be confronted with the problems we are facing to-day.

History: Ideal Education.

'History, beyond all other studies', said Maunder, 'is calculated to enlighten the judgment and enlarge the understanding. Every page conveys some useful lesson, every sentence its moral. It is accordingly admitted as an indisputable axiom that there is no species of literary composition to which the faculties of the mind can be more laudably directed, or from which more useful information may be derived.'[3] In other words: History is nothing if it does not educate: It is an ideal school of education and experience. We must

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2. Runciman's Lecture on *History*; *Queen-Book of Quotations*, p. 98; Geyl: *Use and Abuse of History*, pp. 60-61; Maunder: *The Treasury of History*, p. 1; Durant: *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. 1, *Our Oriental Heritage*, p. 339.

3. Maunder: *The Treasury of History*, *Preface*, p. *i*.

draw lessons from the history of the past, but without sacrificing facts, without distorting truth and without doing injustice to any individual or institution, cause or concern. History shall cease to be history if it is distorted even for the best of causes.[4] It will partake of the *Panchatantra* or Five Headings, the source of many fables which have fascinated the East and the West, the *Hitopadesha* or Good Advice based thereon, *Aesop's Fables*, already noticed, *Nitishastra* or Instructions in Politics and Morality, or the *Prince*, already reviewed, and other works of the same type, in which every tale is told to illustrate a point of politics or an article of ethics.[5] History must continue as a statement of facts, and serve as a good guide and provide suitable safeguards against pitfalls.

Condition Precedent.

The pre-requisite for the Programme envisaged above is *Honesty*, for if we are not honest and our intentions are not good, we make confusion worse confounded. Outwardly, we all acclaim *truth* and profess to be honest, but inwardly how many of us are really so? Some of us have built up a bent of mind which leads us to the conclusion that we cannot do without lying in the social phenomena around us. We profess to believe what we do not believe. Such a *mental attitude* is the mother of all mischief. It has done incalculable harm to humanity in general and to history in particular. We must, therefore, start with self-reform.[6]

I Re-writing of History.

So far as the first part of our duty is concerned,

4. Jaffar: *The Mughal Empire, Preface*, pp. vii, ff.

5. Durant: *The Story of Civilization*: Vol. 1, *Our Oriental Heritage*, p. 578. Also see pp. 335-36 of this Volume.

6. Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason*, p. 3. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec., 1960, pp. 8, 15.

it must be reiterated that historiography or history-writing is a most tedious and technical job. The historian must, therefore, be a master-mind, endowed with a penetrating vision, a deep insight, a sound judgment and a high sense of justice. He must be equipped with all the requisite qualifications which can be acquired by education and experience, teaching and training. He must be capable of conducting, co-ordinating, encouraging and organising original research. He must be a veritable torch of light and an invincible tower of truth. Maunder has rightly remarked that 'it would be an insult to common sense, in a work professedly historical, to narrate the marvellous actions ascribed to Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo and a host of ideal personages who, as we are told, *once held sway*,' but it would be adding injury to insult if the early history of a place involved in obscurity and fable is passed over in silence for many ages, as suggested by Maunder.[7] We must extract ores of truth from stores of falsehood or separate facts from fables— the first and foremost function of history—, and go on repeating the process and recording the results when pictures and patterns emerge from the evidence made available and verified as correct.[8]

Immensity of Task: Method of Approach.

With regard to the magnitude of the task, there can be no doubt, but it can be accomplished with co-operative effort, under proper guidance and adequate patronage. If all concerned contribute all that they can to the common cause carefully and conscientiously, the out-put is bound to be what can be called history as it ought to be. The task before the historian, as envisaged in the Islamic Concept and as presented here, appears to be most baffling indeed, specially when side by side with specialisation the

7. Maunder: *The Treasury of History*, p. 823. 8. *Ibid.*

scope of history has become universal and the historian has to swim against the current trend. Happily, historians have begun to realize the necessity of writing history lineally as well as collaterally, analytically as well as synthetically and approaching the aim from both ends.[9] Let the historians of the world, gifted with the qualities of head and heart and equipped with the talents and training necessary for the job, put their heads together and produce an encyclopaedia of history by contributing authentic and impartial accounts of their own countries, based on the best of ideologies, omitting nothing true and adding nothing false.[10] In preparing the history of the past all of them should act and advance with mutual aid and consult each other at every stage, where necessary. Each one of them should act as a judge and an advocate of truth and not as an advocate whose job is to present only one-sided picture. A judge shoulders a very heavy responsibility. He has to verify and weigh the evidence produced by the parties, question and cross-question the witnesses, apply the law and deliver his judgment without fear or favour. The historian is to act as a judge in sifting and evaluating evidence, in digging out truth from heaps of records, etc., in presenting, as far as possible, a perfect picture, and giving his verdict according to the laws of history. Whereas a judge is bound by the law of the land and he cannot adduce evidence other than that produced by the parties concerned, the historian is bound by the laws of history; but he is free to investigate the matter, collect evidence from all available sources without any restrictions and arrive at the truth. He himself can act as a witness and cite his own evidence.

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9. Durant: *The Story of Civilization, Vol. i, Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. i, ff.

10. Runciman's *Lecture on History* delivered at Peshawar; Also see page 63 of this Volume.

Though he cannot question and cross-question the witnesses who are dead, he can modify his judgment any time afterwards in the light of fresh evidence, further investigation and reinterpretation of facts.[11] He should note that now his position is higher than that assigned to him by Lucian of Samosata (ca. A. D. 125-200).[12] He is regarded as the custodian of peace and the hope of humanity.

Importance of Research.

So far the emphasis has been on tracing history from the past to the present and understanding or explaining the present with the help of the past. There has been one-way traffic only. In future the emphasis shall be on tracing history from the present back to the past and reconstructing the past with the help of the present.[13] In other words, there shall be two-way traffic in future. This is because the past is embedded in the present in the same way as the present is embedded in the past. As research is going to play an ever-increasing role in tracing the history of the past both ways—from the past to the present and vice versa—it is necessary to pose its problems and pitfalls and to suggest suitable solutions and safeguards.

Recognised but not realised.

The importance of *research* is acknowledged by many but without knowing or trying to know what it implies and what it embraces. Students admitted to and entrusted with research under the guidance of Pro-

11. Hyde: *Historical Method and Interpretation*, p. 3. See also Marc Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, pp. 138, ff.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 138, ff., 153-4. Gustavson: *A Preface to History*, p. 2. Also see pp. 210-11 of this Volume.

13. This is what *Anthropology* aims at. See *Anthropology* in *The Encyclopaedia Americana* and *The Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

fessors at the Universities are seldom taught or told what it is and what it comprehends and yet the research conducted is qualified by such epithets as *sound*, *systematic*, *scientific*, etc.[14] Here it is proposed to take stock of the present state of affairs and provide what may serve as a base or a nucleus for the technique of research in general and historical research in particular. Dr. Jaffari has rightly stressed the need in these words: 'Research should develop its own standards and follow its own ideals. It must build its own traditions and develop its own methods and patterns.'[15] The technique suggested here is of course open to elaboration and improvement.

Existing Conditions.

Candidates possessing high academic qualifications (which may be the fruits of cramming, indicating no capacity for original research) are selected for research and the claims of those endowed with ability for original research but found below the prescribed standard in paper qualifications are ignored except at a few American and European Universities.[16] We note that undue importance is attached to divisions and distinctions in the University results at the time of selecting candidates for admission to examinations for research degrees. Writing in its editorial under the caption *Restrictions on Research*, the *Pakistan Times* observed:

> Our present examination system is proverbially inadequate even as a test of general intelligence and scholastic attainment; it is particularly unreliable as a test of aptitude for research.
>
> A survey of distinguished scholars and research workers in any country will show a large number of people with

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14. Jaffari: *My Reactions to the Current Concept of Research* published in *The Sind University Journal of Education*, Vol. I, (October, 1955), p. 63.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 65. 16. See Supplement to this Volume.

undistinguished examination records. It is the general experience of university teachers, at least in this sub-continent, that the proportion of students with an aptitude for research is higher among average graduates than among those with bright examination records.[17]

It is also our common experience that Oriental scholars who have never been abroad have shown greater capacity for hard work and aptitude for original research. We know of such scholars whose output on the intellectual side is greater than that of scholars possessing high academic distinctions. Subjects of study and fields of research are selected by scholars or for them by those appointed to supervise and guide their work in the absence of any clear concept of research and without reference to the talents of the scholars concerned. The choice thus determined in either case is frequently found to be faulty and the results of research far from satisfactory. The guidance given to the research scholars is invariably haphazard or vague and at times misleading. It consists mainly in the collection and collation of material and systematization of knowledge or information according to the individual and arbitrary standards of those placed in charge of research and not according to any accepted principles or precepts, procedure or practice. The importance of such guidance, as far as it goes, may be acknowledged but the fact remains that it lacks precision and the research conducted under it turns out to be defective and even disappointing.[18] The arbitrary judgment and the domineering authority of the guiding experts crushes self-effort and originality and seriously retards real research. A subject on which no research is possible

17. Editorial: *Pakistan Times* dated June 30, 1957. See also *Report of the Commission on National Education*, p. 23.

18. Jaffari: *My Reactions to the Current Concept of Research*, (*S.U. Journal of Education*), pp. 63, ff.

is accepted for a thesis and a subject highly potential for research is rejected by the Board of Studies concerned.[19] In the absence of any guiding principle—*general*, i.e. relating to knowledge or information as a whole or to all fields of knowledge, and *special*, i.e. peculiar to particular subjects of study or fields of knowledge—, there can be no real research. 'Too often,' according to Marc Bloch, 'the work of research still wanders aimlessly with no rational decision about where it is to be applied.' Taking a leap in the dark at the instance of the supervisor or groping in dark under his guidance, the research scholar mostly misses and rarely hits the mark and that too only incidentally.[20] All this entails enormous avoidable waste of money, time and energy and must be eliminated.

Concept of Research.

In the circumstances stated above it is necessary, first of all, to define research and have a clear concept of its premises. *Research* means to search again. It means earnest and industrious search, specially for knowledge or truth. This meaning is best expressed by the Greek word *historia* which means to inquire and the Arabic word *Tahqiq* (تحقیق)—to ascertain or in vestigate the truth. It means unveiling or exploration of the known and the unknown—recovery of what was known and lost to mankind with the lapse of time and discovery of new facts, vistas and avenues of unexplored fields of knowledge. It entails diligent inquiry and investigation, examination and experimentation, both exhaustive and critical, aiming at the discovery of new facts and their correct inter-

19. A reference to the *University Calendars* will bear out the truth of this tragedy.

20. Jaffari: *My Reactions to the Current Concept of Research* (*Ibid.*), pp. 63-64; Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, p. 86.

pretation, the revision of accepted theories, views and verdicts, etc.[21]

Kinds of—.

There are two distinct types of research: literary and scientific or analytical and experimental, the former concerned with the collection, presentation and interpretation or reinterpretation of all existing or available information on a specific subject and the latter with the invention or creation of things which did not exist before. In literary research facts are assimilated, evaluated and put in their proper places regardless of the conclusions or consequences. In scientific research, on the other hand, material is collected and combined in such proportions as to produce the desired result. In one case the research is led to the unknown goal by facts collected and evaluated by constant practice and in the other the goal is fixed before hand and reached by ingenuity and experimentation.[22]

Limitations of—.

It is hardly necessary to state that the whole truth cannot be dug out and the entire field of knowledge (known and unknown) cannot be explored. The ideal will remain an ideal and every effort or attempt to achieve it will add to human knowledge. This is because knowledge is limitless and human efforts are limited.[23] The task will undoubtedly be facilitated by methodical, systematic or scientific approach to the subject after forming a clear concept of research and acquiring a good knowledge of the subject of special study.

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21. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69; *Research* in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *The Encyclopaedia Americana*, etc. See also *Tahqiq* (تحقیق) in any standard Arabic or Persian Dictionary.

22. Cordasco-Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, pp. 1-2.

23. "Science is too vast and life is too short." — Marc Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, p. 47. Also see Jaffari's article on *Current Concept of Research* (already quoted) p. 68.

Premises—.

There is a growing tendency to restrict the application of the word *research* to science—knowledge of the physical world and its phenomena—and to ignore the claims of all other branches of knowledge to it.[24] This restriction or narrowing down of the scope of research retards real research and, if carried to its logical limit, will strangulate the very soul and spirit of abstract sciences and arts—religion, philosophy, history, geography, education, etc. This tendency cannot continue unchecked and *research* must necessarily be applied to knowledge as a whole—to every field of it.[25] It cannot exclude *history* which means and stands for inquiry, search and research.

Fundamentals—.

The six fundamentals of research are (1) availability of material or data on the subject of research, (2) technical talent i. e. knowledge of the subject of study, and of the methods of research; (2) empirical knowledge; (3) reflective thinking—an inseparable link between (1) and (2)—(5) the art of understanding and interpreting history or historical phenomena, springing from inner knowledge, intuition, insight or *Ilm-ul-Ladunni*, also defined and described as poetic, philosophic and prophetic *vision* which is inherent or inborn;[26] and (6) concept and ideology. There can be no research without these six fundamentals. They are common to all research, i.e. research in all fields of knowledge, but their constituants or component parts and the part they play will differ in

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24. See *Research* in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.) in which the term is reserved mainly for *Industrial Research*,

25. Jaffari: *My Reactions to the Current Concept of Research*, pp. 68-69.

26. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 65, ff. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol, xii, Dec. 1960, pp. 5, ff.

different cases. Those peculiar to historical research will be dealt with here.

Methods of Historical Research.

Different subjects or different problems pertaining thereto demand different methods of approach and exposition. These methods have to be devised and developed, tested and tried and, where necessary, dropped or modified by experts. They relate to the fundamentals of research, viz. (1) material—its availability and adequacy, its collection and collation; (2) knowledge—general and technical—acquired by tuition, training and experience, (3) empirical knowledge; (4) reflective thinking, so necessary for applying knowledge to the best use of the material, (5) inner knowledge, insight, intuition or vision, and (6) ideology or concept.[27] Here we are concerned with the methods relating to historical research.

1. Material.

As already stated, there can be no research without raw material. Of all the original sources of information about our past—well-preserved oral tradition, contemporary chronicles, comments and criticisms, personal narratives and autobiographies, accounts of tours and travels, semi-official and private correspondence and compilations, diaries and despatches, reports and reviews, archaeological (including epigraphic and numismatic) evidence, verbal, wireless and telephonic orders, messages, etc., sound records and archives—the last in the list is the first and foremost in fullness and fidelity, accuracy and authenticity.[28]

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27. For *empirical knowledge*, *poetic* and *philosophic vision* and *Ilm-ul-Ladunni* or 'Inward Knowledge' see pp. 132, ff., 338, ff. of this Volume and for *Reflective Thinking* see Jaffari's article on *Current Concept of Research* (quoted above) pp. 65-66.

28. Jaffar: Archives — *Meaning, Scope and Importance*, pp. 1, ff.; *Historical Wealth of N.W.F.P.*, pp. 17-18.

Written Records.

The importance of writing as a record of the past and a repository of knowledge and experience cannot be exaggerated. According to Imam Ja'far As-Sadiq, the art of writing is responsible for the transmission of the accumulated experiences and achievements of mankind from the past to the present.[29] Thomas Carlyle was prefectly right when he said: 'Certainly, the Art of Writing is the most miraculous of all things man has devised.'[30] We have seen how the whole world has laid emphasis on it and how it has preserved and passed on to posterity the past of mankind. But for it, humanity would have remained without its fruits and faced a number of difficulties in every department of daily life. Man has not remained satisfied with this achievement as such. He has added to its advantages and accelerated its output by devising such appliances and apparatuses as printing presses, type-writers, teleprinters, duplicators, etc. The effects of gramophone records, tape records, etc. on writing have yet to be seen, but it can safely be said that its role as a vehicle of knowledge notwithstanding the alternate means of preserving knowledge and experience and the fact that it is a poor substitute for what has actually happened (history), will be still greater in future.

Their Form and Character.

The heroes who made history had no time to reduce it to writing[31] and it is rather rare that we

29. See *Hadis-i-Muffazal* on *Tauhid* in the *Bab-ul-Sama wal Alam* in the *Bihar-ul-Anwar* of Allama Majlisi.

30. Thomas Carlyle: *Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History*, p. 148.

31. Metternick (German Statesman) quoted. *The Queen-Book of Quotations*, p. 98.

have autobiographies and memoirs, diaries and despatches, etc. from their own pens. Occasionally, we have records of historical facts and phenomena dictated by them or produced under their patronage. Generally, we have books based on the first two sources. Archives, manuscripts and printed books are all records or written words, but they are materially different in form, character and importance. They are therefore to be treated differently with due regard to their source, character and contents. A brief account of each category of records follows.

Primary Source.

The records of the first category (archives) form an absolutely original source, free from interpolations. They contain information as pure as water issuing from a mountain-spring—the nearer the source the less the chances of contamination or pollution.[32] They mirror the minds of their authors and contain what they wanted to convey, though their contents need not necessarily be correct. They are not merely the dry bones of history, as supposed by some; they also provide the necessary flesh and blood by giving an insight into the life and thought of the people of the past—their tastes and temperaments, their habits and hobbies, their morals and manners, their means of livelihood and modes of living, their articles of dress and household utensils—in fact into the entire paraphernalia of their culture and civilization. 'Among them the clerk can drag his painful way through mountains of statistics, the historian can delve for Truth and he who has the seeing eye can find romance and high adventure. Ready to be held to the gaze of posterity for all time to come and to play their part in a ceaseless drama, these records fulfil the purpose expressed by a great soul:

32. Cordasco-Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, p. 27.

History teaches us to hope.'[33] They pass on to posterity as accurately and intact as nothing else can the accumulated achievements and experiences of the past and thus ensure the continuity of evolution and the progress of human society.

Secondary Source.

The secondary source, containing second-hand information, comprises contemporary chronicles, histories and other books based on the original or primary source.[34] Conscientiously compiled, they do contain correct information, but they also bear the stamp of their authors' personality and cannot be expected to be entirely free from personal bias, the impress of their concepts and the effects of the ideologies they adhered to.

Tertiary Source.

Third-hand information is contained in what are called tertiary sources. Encyclopaedias, gazettes, year-books, text-books and other printed books belong to this category. Distant from the original source, the information embodied therein may be purged of or packed with rubbish like the water of a spring that is purified or polluted on the way down the source—so packed and polluted by interested and inefficient hands and so purged and purified by impartial and efficient experts. The 'wealth of printed sources' is likened to "a paper currency that is liable to depreciation."[35]

Verification.

In any case, it is necessary to ascertain that the books, manuscripts and archives drawn and relied upon are real and not forged and that their

33. Quoted. Jaffar: *Archives — Meaning, Scope and Importance*, pp. 14-15. See Hall: *British Archives*, pp. xix, 329, ff.

34. Cordasco-Gatner: *Research and Report Writing*, p. 28.

35. *Ibid.* See Hall: *British Archives*, pp. 340-41.

contents are correct. Islam did a good deal in this direction when it laid down that the source-material must be verified before it is accepted as correct : " O believers! If any bad man comes to you with a report, clear it up at once."[36] The reference to 'the bad man' makes it clear that the personal character of the reporter is also an important factor in the evaluation of his testimony. Muslim specialists in *History* and *Hadis* devoted their time and attention to this important aspect and dealt with it under 'personality criticism' while building up the science of biography called *Asma-ur-Rijal*.[37] General and technical knowledge is a valuable asset for distinguishing between facts and fables, faithful and forged records, etc. Research scholars shall have to make use of both as best as they can and avail themselves of expert advice.

Research in Records.

Current records are like objects near at hand and hence clearly visible or quite distinct and old records are like those at a distance and therefore dim and indistinct. The nearer the objects, the clearer the view and the greater the distance, the dimmer the view; or in other words, the brighter the light, the better the sight. It is rightly remarked that recent records resemble the water of a stream sprouting from a spring or flowing down a fountain: The nearer the source, the purer the properties of the water and the farther the fountain, the greater the garbling.[38] With regard to the possibilities or potentialities of original records for historical research, scholarly opinion is divided. There are two schools of thought on this subject, for

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36. *Al-Quran*, xlix: 6, v:83 and pp. 312, 336 of this Volume.

37. See pp. 350, ff. and 247, ff. of this Volume.

38. Cordasco-Gatnei : *Research and Report-Writing*, p. 27.

and against. The one in favour argues that research in recent records does not present the problems which that in the records of antiquity does due to the accretions attached to them in the course of time. And according to the other school, no objective research in recent records (or in other words, in recent events and occurrences) at all is possible because they are recent and it is argued that living persons or participants in the events and occurrences cannot be freely criticised and their misdeeds cannot be fully exposed on account of the influence they wield or the lack of moral courage on the part of their critics and that those entrusted with the task of evaluation have their own feelings and affiliations, faults and failures and they are not expected to rise above them.[39] As against this, it is asserted that it is not fair to underrate human nature and the ethical standard it has attained, that men have risen to remarkable heights and left angels far behind, that historians are towers of truth and they must maintain their position, that the ideal before them is very high, too high to be attained, but all efforts to attain it are attended by progress at every stage and it is in this way that history is perfecting itself, though the perfection thus attained is always relative.[40] It is not difficult to judge between the two points of view presented above, but it must be borne in mind that every one of us can be a good student of history but not an historian just as everyone of us can be a good man but not a Prophet, and that an historian, like a Prophet is born and not become by effort.[41] To the qualities of head and heart which he brings

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39. Marc Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, pp. 37-38.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 58. See pp. 345, ff. of this Volume.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 346-47. See Spengler: *The Decline of the West*, Vol. i, p. 102.

with himself he adds education and experience, teaching and training. By careful collection, selection and collation of evidence as well as by faithful presentation and interpretation of facts he can remove misunderstandings and mischiefs and by viewing the world as a whole and not in its watertight compartments, he can unite the whole of humanity into one universal brotherhood. He can pave the way for one universal religion and one universal state.[42]

Originality.

The Commission on National Education in Pakistan has employed the word Research 'to mean, in the case of science subjects, an original contribution to knowledge based on individual exploration of phenomena with rigorously applied methodology.' This definition is slightly modified in the case of humanities and social sciences where the use of the word *Research* is 'restricted to original scholarship at a very high level.' The Commission has recommended the methodology of research at the Honours and Master's level and research proper at the Ph. D. level under expert guidance.[43] It is a recognised rule of research that a thesis must be an original contribution to knowledge. What is originality? With reference to the sources of information, it means fresh and untapped material. Such material must be reproduced *verbatim* and *in extenso*, where necessary, i. e. where its gist is likely to be called in question. Such a reproduction of original text leaves no room for doubt as to the authenticity of the information contained therein. If the source of the information belongs to the party against which it is produced, it is regarded

42. See pp. 291 ff. of this Volume. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec. 1960, p. 15.
43. *Report of the Commission on National Education*, p. 26.

as conclusive provided it is not impugned on other grounds.[44] Where it is intended to summarise the text, it must be made sure that the summary is faithful. In summarising the text, the original words should be retained, as far as possible, without sacrificing either facts or sense. In so far as the processes of presentation, collation and interpretation of facts are concerned, originality will mean a distinct advance or improvement in logical sequence.

2. Knowledge: General and Technical.

It is not enough for the historian to have free access to all available archives, etc. and to be fully endowed with the gifts of vision, sound judgment and graphic exposition of facts; he must also be competent enough to bring to the aid of his study of original sources the latest and most scientific methods of historical research to enable him to present, as far as possible, a perfect picture of the past.[45] In other words, he must have a thorough knowledge of archives which are the main, if not the only, source of information so far as the history of our recent past is concerned, as well as of archaeology, which is the main source of our information so far as the history of our remote past is concerned. Acquaintance with other ancillary sciences will be an asset.

Archives: Palaeography: Diplomatic.

Knowledge of archives will include (1) knowledge of palaeography—a science which is 'concerned with the method of deciphering and describing a document as it is presented to us in its material body, including the transcription of its contents, the determination of

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44. This has become an accepted principle, but its validity must be verified before it is given any weight.

45. Hubert Hall: *British Archives*, p. 1; Jaffar: *Archives—Meaning, Scope and Importance*, pp. 15-16.

its date, nationality, authorship and ownership, the style of handwriting or ornamentation and a description of the materials employed in its construction deduced from an investigation of its provenance' and (2) knowledge of Diplomatic—a science which is concerned with the method of interpreting the significance underlying the substance or material of a document.[46] For the exact evaluation of archives one must know the language, the scripts and styles of hand-writing employed and the substance or material on which they are written in order to be in a position to read them, understand their meaning and determine their date, provenance, connection with their contemporaries, predecessors and successors, if any, by subjecting them to an over-all examination.

Illustration.

In order to appreciate the importance of the archives of the Mughal Empire and the Durrani Kingdom, for instance, one must know Persian thoroughly well, be able to read the Persian script and the various styles of hand-writing such as *Nastaliq*, *Naskh* and *Shikasta* and judge the kind and quality of paper and ink. That is to say, one must know palaeography or the science that studies the forms of letters and the substance on and with which they are written. Likewise, one must know the various forms of diplomas or documents such as *Farmans*, *Nishans*, etc. and their component parts such as invocation, superscription, address, seals, etc. to catch correctly the sense and significance of such signs as *Panjah-i-Shahi* or the Imperial Palm-Impression which, when affixed to a document or diploma, signified special honour, assurance, pledge or promise, the head of the letter *Swad* (ص), being the abbreviated

46. Hubert Hall: *British Archives*, p. 335; Jaffar: *Historical Wealth of N. W. F. P.*, p. 19.

form of *Sahih* (صحیح) or correct, signifying that the entry or the text preceding it was verified as correct, and *Zimn* (ضمن) or endorsement on the back, without which no *Farman*, *Manshur* or *Nishan* was regarded as valid and operative.[47] In other words, a good knowledge of diplomatic or the science that studies the system of interpreting the significance underlying the wording or structure of diplomas or documents is indispensable.

Archival Technique.

The Mughal Emperors had developed a highly elaborate technique of official correspondence, so elaborate in fact that those who aspired for Imperial Service had to receive regular instruction in *Insha* or epistolography under a competent Secretary. Here it is impossible to go into details. Suffice it to say that a scholar not conversant with it can hardly understand or appreciate the sense and significance of a specific communication issued for a specific purpose. He can hardly distinguish between a *Farman* and a *Nishan*, a *Nishan* and a *Hasb-ul-Hukm* and a *Hasb-ul-Hukm* and a *Parwanah*. He may take an aprocryphal document for a genuine one.[48]

Archaeology.

History cannot do without Archaeology in the same way as Archaeology cannot do without History. Archaeology has surveyed a very large area and a very long period of the past. 'In this enlarged field of study it has disclosed general trends, cumulative changes proceeding in one main direction and towards recognizable results.' What is the main direction and what are the recognizable results? The march of

47. Jaffar: *The Archives of the Mughal Empire*, Chapter III and *Historical Wealth of N-W.F.P.*, pp. 19-21.

48. Jaffar: *The Archives of the Mughal Empire.*

mankind from savagery to civilization in the past and from civilization to spiritual sublimity in future.[49] Knowledge of archaeology is as indispensable for the history of our remote past as that of archives is about the history of our recent past. Explorations and excavations must be conducted in such a way that no evidence is destroyed or allowed to escape and the data recovered from the remains is pieced together in such a way as to present, as far as possible, a complete picture of the past. It must be added here that in spite of all possible efforts in this direction, the results achieved may not be entirely precise and the picture prepared may not be perfect in certain circumstances, if not always, because the evidence lost for good cannot be recovered or retrieved and the possibility of future additions and improvements cannot be ruled out.[50]

Epigraphy & Numismatics.

Apart from strong historical background, aided by archaeology, without which no research is possible, adequate knowledge of local languages (including their scripts and styles of hand-writing) as well as technical teaching, training and experience in epigraphy and numismatics are also equally essential, for without them the contents of coins and inscriptions cannot be correctly deciphered, interpreted and explained with reference to the context. In this connection well-equipped and well-organised museums are as important as archives.[51]

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49. Childe: *What Happened in History?*, pp. 1, ff.

50. *Ibid.* See *Archaeology* in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*; *The Encyclopaedia Americana*; Gustavson's *Preface to History*.

51. Hubert Hall: *British Archives*, pp. 333-34. Gustavson: *Preface to History*. See pp. 53, ff., 79, 135 of this Volume. Also see *Archaeology*, *Epigraphy* and *Numismatics* in *The Encyclopaedia Americana and The Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

Other Ancillary Sciences.

Still in its infancy, the new science of anthropology has evoked immense interest. The importance attached to it shows that it has a great future. Its role in tracing the history of mankind from the present to the past will assume ever-increasing importance. Other ancillary sciences, which are veritable contributaries to the mighty ocean of history are philology, geology, geography, calendar and chronology. Real research in history, as now understood, cannot afford to disregard the results of researches in these fields of knowledge.[52] While tapping the sources of information, the research scholar should see how far his thesis is influenced by these ancillary sciences and then, if necessary, seek the support of the specialists therein.

Forgeries.

Forging of *Farmans* and other documents, counterfeiting coins and seals, manufacturing statues and sculptures, etc. has provided a very lucrative trade for some unscrupulous persons. The art, if it can be so called, has been practised with such skill and success that only experts with trained eyes can detect the defects and drawbacks of the forgeries and fabrications and declare them as such.[53] The research scholar must make use of such source-material after obtaining expert advice and after fully satisfying himself about its genuineness and authenticity.

Bibliography.

It must also be noted that no work produced in this age or in future will be accepted as authentic

52. See *Anthropology* in *The Encyclopaedia Americana* and *The Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Also see pp. 53, ff., 79 of this Volume and Dunbar's *Historical Geology.*

53. Marc Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, pp. 60, ff., 90, ff.

unless it is based on such archival, MS. and printed sources as can be verified and unless these sources are referred to at appropriate places—either in the foot-notes or in the notes at the end of the text. An exhaustive bibliography with concise comments on each book, MS. or document rather than a mere list, mentioning the names of the books, etc. consulted or drawn upon, will enhance its value and add to its authenticity and importance.[54]

3. **Empirical Knowledge.**

Empirical Knowledge, based on practical experience or observation, as distinct from regular principles and procedure pertaining to science, also counts in the collection and collation of data, appreciation and interpretation of facts, etc. Other things being equal, one who has served in the army and remained on active service can give a more vivid account of war and its horror, or one who has travelled widely and come in contact with peoples of different places can appreciate the intricacies of human nature better than those without such experience.[55] It is partly due to empirical knowledge that generally men of vast and varied experience rose to the rank of great historians. Needless to add that reliance on this type of knowledge to the exclusion of other types will not produce good history.

4. **Reflective Thinking.**

The means and methods devised by the research scholar for putting the material collected by him to the best use with the aid of his knowledge and experience owe their origin to reflective thinking—a

54. Cordasco-Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, pp. 40, ff.; Jenkinson: *The English Archivist*, pp. 10-11.

55. Hyde: *Historical Method and Interpretation*, p. 2. Runciman: *Lecture on History* at Peshawar. *Graham: Some Considerations on Historical Research* published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec. 1960, p. 8

process, both inductive and deductive, which usually takes the form of questions and answers on the subject as distinct from search or research.[56] It is *reasoning*, which has been defined as 'the ability to solve problems without going through a physical process or trial and error'[57]—practical process or experimentation. Here the emphasis is shifted from hands to head, from instruments to ideas and from machinery to mind.

5. **Ilm-ul-Ladunni: Inspiration.**

Over and above reflective thinking is *Ilm-ul-Ladunni* translated into English as 'Inward Knowledge', insight, intuition, inner vision, inspiration, etc. or the power of viewing what is not visible to the average man. It is always inherent or inborn and never acquired or achieved.[58] It raises the historian gifted with it head and shoulders above his colleagues and contemporaries. We have already dealt with it in detail and no recapitulation seems to be necessary now. It is extremely rare and reserved for the chosen few.

6. **Ideology: Concept.**

The predominant part played by the concept or the ideology adhered to by the historians in the interpretation of facts and the evaluation or appraisal of the character and qualities of individuals and institutions, etc. has not been adequately appreciated. This occounts for the emphasis laid on it here and there in this volume.[59] It is not only important

56. Jaffari: *Reactions to Current Concept of Research*, p. 66.

57. Gordon Childe: *What Happened in History?*, p. 12.

58. *Al-Quran*, xviii: 65; *Nahj-ul-Balaghat* (A. N.), Vol. ii, p. 1120; Rosenthal: *A History of Muslim Historiography*, pp. 206, 230; Also see pp. 41-42, 130, ff., 341-44 of this Volume.

59. See pp. 20, ff., 91, ff., 245-46, 253-57, 324, ff., 342, ff., 383, 392 of this Volume.

but imperative for the historians of future to form a clear and correct concept and to follow the infallible ideology, emanating from the spiritual source, if it is intended that the results of their researches may be rightly remunerative and conducive to the true end of man.[60]

Analytic and Synthetic Treatment.

Thesis-writing tends to concentrate on 'learning about more and more about less and less.' Intensive research is admirable and even indispensable, but it cannot be carried beyond a certain limit without losing its connection with the whole it relates to. The method of writing history in separate longitudinal sections or water-tight compartments doubtless 'does injustice to the unity of human life' and it is rightly suggested that 'history should be written collaterally as well as lineally, synthetically as well as analytically.'[61] While trying to portray in each period 'the total complex of nation's culture, institutions, adventures and ways' with the aid of ever-accumulating knowledge, we should not lose sight of the *whole* of which it forms but a petty part.[62]

Means of Research.

Among the means of research may be mentioned instruments and apparatuses, chemicals and commodities, etc. in the case of physical sciences and facts and figures, theories and thoughts in the case of abstract sciences and arts. Guides and handbooks, calendars and catalogues, lists and indices, etc. may be included in the lists of *means* in either

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60. Toynbee: *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 266-68. See pp. 283, ff. of this Volume.

61. Durant: *The Story of Civilization, Vol. i, Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. i, ff.

62. *Ibid.* See also pp. 291, ff. of this Volume.

case.[63] If science has its laboratories for experimentation, etc., History has its own—the entire universe—, of which all the contents in general and archaeological remains, coins and inscriptions, archival treasures and literary works preserved in museums, archives and libraries in particular provide the requisite material for research. All these instruments of research, crude to begin with, have developed in their own spheres and the process will go on *ad infinitum*.[64] Proper use of these means ensures accuracy and efficiency not only by affording guidance and providing the necessary base, but also by saving time and eliminating lot of avoidable waste.

Duration of —.

Research recognises no restrictions: It shall continue forward and backward from the past to the present and *vice versa*. Likewise, the process of writing and re-writing history will continue *ad infinitum*. There is no time-limit for it and there must not be any. History will go on perfecting itself, but the perfection at every stage will be relative and never final. If one were to wait for a perfect picture beyond which there would be no more addition or improvement, one would have to wait beyond limit.[65] It is not only desirable but also imperative to record the results of researches at intervals when the pictures or patterns begin to emerge from the material collected, preserved and pieced together from time to time.[66] Researches conducted at the universities and other centres for fixed periods are in fact indications of

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63. Shotwell: *History* in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

64. *Ibid.* See also Gustavson: *A Preface to History.*

65. Durant: *The Story of Civilization, Vol. i, Our Oriental Heritage, Preface*, pp. i, ff.

66. Cordasco-Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, p. 4.

capacity for and the beginning but not the end of research. Real research, which knows no end, should continue thereafter. The period prescribed for research at the universities—three years—seems to be reasonable, but the rules relating thereto should be relaxed when required, reduced to two or even one year and raised to four or even five years in deserving cases.[67]

Practical Procedure.

The practical procedure prescribed for conducting research, as devised and developed by the Director and followed in the Central Record Office at Peshawar under his direction is outlined in the ensuing account because it gives broad indications of the lines on which historical research will be conducted in future. After the Director has delivered a series of lectures on the various aspects of historical research dealt with in this chapter, after the candidates have formed a clear idea of the concept of research, its meaning and importance, its premises and scope, its potentialities and limitations, and after they have fully grasped the nature of the work they are going to undertake, the technique involved and the methodology evolved, they are given a set of instructions for the preparation of their theses.[68]

1. Choice of Subject: Title of Thesis.

The subject selected for the thesis must be that on which the candidate has already worked and in which he now wishes to specialise. The title of the thesis must show what its contents are going to be. It must show whether it is going to be on a new topic or on some important aspect of an old topic on which

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67. A reference to the calendars of various universities will show how restrictive the rules are.

68. See *Prospectus for Training in Historical Research (Diploma Course instituted by the West Pakistan Government)* obtainable from the Director of Archives, Peshawar.

little work has been done, so that the thesis, when complete, must be a material contribution to knowledge. The choice of the subject and the title of the thesis must be determined after a detailed discussion between the candidate and his officially appointed supervisor or guide with due regard to the background knowledge, linguistic and other qualifications, (including inherent aptitude for research) and availability of source-material.[69]

2. **Outline of Thesis: Mental Picture.**

After the selection of the subject and the determination of the title of the thesis, the candidate is required to draw up a mental picture or a tentative outline of what his thesis is going to be; the number of chapters and the topics to be dealt with therein; a synopsis of the whole work to be done or the thesis to be written. The synopsis must show the special features of the work and the principal points or problems to be posed and discussed. It should state the headings of the topics to be treated, begin with Introduction and end with Conclusion. It should give a sufficient guarantee that the time and labour devoted to it will yield fruitful results. However sound the planning may be and however much the subject of study may lend itself to the plan before the 'meticulous work' is undertaken, it is impossible to see the end without adequate knowledge, insight and acumen.[70]

3. **Timing of Research.**

When no time-limit is imposed on research, the guiding principle is to go on devoting time and toil to the collection and collation of evidence until it is followed by the emergence of pictures and patterns.[71] The axiom that the duration of research

69. Cordasco-Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, p. 6.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 35, ff., 50-51.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

should be 'long enough to cover the subject and short enough to maintain interest'[72] may be followed but without losing sight of the real aims and objects of research. Where research is to be conducted within the prescribed period and the results are to be submitted on a fixed date, the research scholar is advised to regulate his work according to the time at his disposal or *vice versa.* If the nature of research so warrants — and this is very rare—a time-table with suitable adjustment of the phases of research with the units of time may be prepared and followed. Such a detailed analysis of work and time may suit research in certain so called exact sciences but not historical research in which one problem may take an exceptionally short time and another may take an unexpectedly long time, and in which the time taken by the search for material will vary with various phases of the work involved. It will be over-emphasising the mechanical part of the process involved if, for instance, books, MSS., etc., forming the source-material, are collected in advance, their pages are numbered and the average of so many pages per day is struck, entered in the time-table and closely followed,[73] for in some cases the researcher in the field of history comes across fresh material so off and on that it will not be possible to stick to the programme already chalked out and in other cases he has to look for fresh material with the aid of indices, etc. and consult additional works referred to in the text or in the footnotes of the pages under perusal, study the relevant portions and record the results, hunt for more material and repeat the same process over again—all of which precludes the possibility of a pre-planned programme. Percentages are, therefore, all that is necessary. Normally, two-third of the period of research may be devoted to the collection and collation of information and the remaining one-third

72. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

73. *Ibid.*

may be reserved for writing, criticism, revision and finishing touches.[74]

4. **Note-Book: Loose-Leaf Register.**

The Note-Book takes the shape of a Loose-Leaf Register of modest size, consisting of about 200 leaves or so, tagged together at the left-hand margin so as to allow subsequent additions and omissions without presenting any problem. The Register is to be divided into as many batches of papers as there are chapters, in addition to a few pages to be reserved for Bibliography in the beginning. The caption of each chapter should be written on the top of the first page of each set, rising above the margin. One half of each page should be reserved for notes and the other half be divided into two parts, one for the ideas that present themselves in the course of research, and the other for references to the pages or particulars of the books, etc. consulted.[75]

5. **Bibliography.**

The candidate is advised to enter at the beginning of the Register a list of books on his subject, readily available and known to him. He will go on adding more books to it as and when he comes across them or their notices. Where necessary, he can form different groups of books according to their languages and or the importance of source-material, e.g. Primary,

74. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec. 1960, pp. 12-13.

75. *Ibid.* pp. 11-12. The alternate or another method of recording the required information which the research scholar comes across while consulting various sources, as suggested by Cardasco and Gatner, is to write on separate sheets of paper or cards full and correct notes and arrange them later. The one outlined in the text above and under the caption *Collection of Information* on pages 459-60 is preferred by the research scholars at the Central Record Office, Peshawar. *See Research and Report-Writing*, pp. 29-32; Problems in Reading and Writing, pp. 384-85.

Secondary and Tertiary; or Archival, Archaeological, Epigraphic, Numismatic, etc. Each book consulted should be fully noticed in the Bibliography: The title, the author, the publisher, the date and place of publication or imprint, etc. should all find a place in it.[76] So far as archival sources are concerned, such particulars of Proceedings, etc. as No., date, department and location may, likewise, be entered in the Bibliography, using abbreviations, if necessary. It may be observed here that there is a growing tendency among the modern researchers proceeding for doctorate degrees to 'to give all the glory to the original document' regardless of its archival qualities—origin, importance, impartiality and authenticity—and to minimize the importance of secondary sources. The impression is gaining ground that examiners are impressed more by the original or primary than by the second-hand or secondary sources set out in the the Bibliography. Dealing with the fallacy of this fiction, Professor Graham has rightly remarked: 'The omission of relevant secondary sources from the Bibliography on the ground that only new or documentary material provides the proper exercise for the display of scholarship is a form of pretentious nonsense, if not arrogance, which ordinarily, weakens the authority of the thesis.' The best books on the subject of research listed under the Tertiary Source hold a very high place: Even a bad book and a forged *Farman* cannot be excluded from the Bibliography if they are referred to or quoted to elucidate, illustrate or decide an important issue. The tendency to spend months in building up bibliography is bad. What is needed in the beginning is 'basic bibliography' which need not necessarily be complete or up-to-date. Once a start is made, it will not be difficult for

76. *Ibid.*, p. 45; Carter-Davidson: *A Reader for Writers*, p. 458.

the research scholar to augment it and bring it up-to-date.[77]

6. Method of Study.

The candidate is not supposed to read the whole of a particular book, from the Foreword to the Conclusion unless the whole of it directly deals with the subject of the thesis. His main job is to dig up the material he requires with the help of such aids and instruments as Preface, Contents, Introduction, Conclusion, Appendix and Index. For instance, he cannot afford to go through the whole of an encyclopaedia or an encyclopaedic work which covers a number of volumes and which contains far more than that relating to his requirements. He should "learn the art of skimming and squeezing a volume" and find out what he requires with the help of catchwords under which the relevant information is incorporated. He can simplify his work and reduce his labour with the aid of such instruments as lists, catalogues, and indexes.[78] In order to avoid inadvertent lapses and lacunae he should have a look at the relevant material incorporated by the author at the end of his work and the corrigenda added after the work has appeared in print. This is necessary to ensure that he has not repeated the errors and omissions committed by the author and corrected afterwards. Where the source-material is imbedded in original MSS., he should make use of the earliest extant copies and, if possible, he should compare them with the later editions in MS. or print and point out the discrepancies which he may come across and guard against the errors and omissions committed by the authors and the copyists concerned. Where the originals are not available, translations

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77. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec. 1960, pp. 10-11.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

may be followed with great care and caution. Except in rare cases, translators have committed such serious blunders in transferring the text from one language to another that it is not safe to rely upon them without reference to the originals.[79] When required, the research scholar should not hesitate to seek and follow expert advice and good guidance. Personal contact with competent historians counts for a lot, but a careful and critical study of their works counts for a great deal more. It is necessary to read widely if it is desired to judge wisely. The reading of remarkable works of history is rightly recommended in connection with post-graduate research provided it stirs the imagination and takes the research scholar out of 'the rut of his own researches' into the realm of ideas and approaches. It is interesting and instructive for the beginner to know how the mind of a truly great historian works, how he tackles historical problems and how he presents the picture of the period he surveys. Such a study helps him to build up his own style, to devise and develop his own method of treatment and to cultivate respect for logical sequence if he closely follows the theme and its threads. Professor Graham's advice to the young researcher in this connection is illuminating: "Therefore, study not only the architecture of a great prose work in English or any other language but the author's method of weighing his evidence, arranging the thought and arriving at judicial conclusions. Only by so doing can you glimpse, if not grasp, the meaning of scholarship". The researcher may make the masterpieces as models, follow them closely and try to emulate and even excel their authors. The facilities he has today in the form of tools and techniques were not within the reach of his predecessors who produced works which have served as models for

79. See pp. 17-19 of this Volume.

mankind at large. With the increasing facilities well within his reach, the modern researcher must to do much better in this age of enlightenment, reason and science. Equipped with all the requisite qualifications of head and heart—knowledge of material and method, technique and treatment, reflective thinking and reasoning, empirical experience and inspiration, patience and perseverance—, he ought to add to his heritage and leave it richer than he received it.[80]

7. Collection of Information.

The candidate should go on consulting the sources of information and adding in his own words the relevant material to the respective chapters in the space provided for the purpose. Where necessary, he may quote from them in extenso or condense the relevant information in the words of the authors concerned without impairing the sense, invariably guarding the quotations big or small, with inverted commas and referring to the pages of the books in which they appear by making use of abbreviations, etc. With the help of Contents and Indexes he should collect and connect all information pertaining to a particular topic and put it in its proper place in the Note-Book.[81] So far as records are concerned, he ought to consult all the correspondence referred to therein to find out its interrelation—so essential for ascertaining the precise position.[82] While consulting the original sources or their authenticated copies, the reader or research scholar comes across mentions of communications connected with the correspondence concerned. In

80. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec. 1960, pp. 8, 10

81. Cf. Cordasco and Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, pp. 28-33; Carter-Davidson: *A Reader for Writers*, pp. 242-43.

82. Jaffar: *Classification of Records—Pakistani System—Progressive Plan* and *Record-Keeping*.

order to ascertain the exact situation it is necessary to trace these references with the help of catalogues, calendars and indexes and go through their contents. It happens, at times, that the references so traced contain mentions of other communications without which the position is likely to remain obscure. These too must, therefore, be traced and made use of to complete the picture. In certain cases, it will be found necessary to condense in fewer words the information gathered and to compress it in smaller space without impairing the meaning or message, the thoughts and themes of the works. Paraphrasing may also be found necessary to bring out the hidden meaning of certain allegorical or metaphorical passages. Proficiency in paraphrasing and precis-writing is acquired by constant practice.[83] When the source-material is scattered over a number of books written in several languages, it is necessary to possess good working knowledge of those languages to avoid such serious pitfalls as have been instanced and to ensure correct sense and significance.[84] In a number of cases, it will be necessary to translate passages in brief or in extenso. In all such cases, expert advice is the best course to follow.

8. **Articulation of Evidence.**

While collecting evidence scattered at so many places and taking notes therefrom, the candidate has to ensure that the evidence so scattered is brought together in such a way as to present as perfect a picture as possible. For instance: In the case of archaeological evidence, he has to piece together the broken parts of pottery in such a way as to restore it to its previous position in the past and in the case

83. Cf. Cordasco and Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, pp. 30-33; Carter-Davidson: *A Reader for Writers*, pp. 243-43; Sams-Mc Neir: *Problems in Reading and Writing*, pp. 563, ff.

84. See pp. 17-19 of this Volume.

of archival evidence he has to rehabilitate stray papers and to restore the relation or interrelation of records with the help of references which he comes across in the correspondence, etc. under scrutiny and bring into broad relief the connection between the contemporaries, their predecessors and successors.[85] In doing so, he is confronted with a kind of cross-word puzzle of which the solution, already set apart, he tries to supply. In certain cases, he will find it necessary to shift some material from one place to another in his Note-Book and to connect or collate one piece of evidence with another with the aid of cross-references in the form of footnotes.

9. **Assimilation: Synthesis: Sequence.**

After assembling all available material, the candidate proceeds to put it in its proper place or in logical sequence determined by its trends and tendencies. He does so by grouping the material in appropriate chapters and assigning them numbers in Arabic numeral. If the number of groups and their location warrant, i.e. if the thesis is heavily corrected and the changes made therein are very many, the entire material of a chapter or chapters, or parts thereof may be re-written or typed and the sheets so written may be inserted in their proper places in the Note-Book in serial order indicated by Arabic numerals. The Note-Book, being made of loose leaves, easily admits of additions and alterations at every stage. The process may be resorted to and repeated only where necessary.[86]

10. **Comments and Criticism.**

When the whole material is put in order and the

85. Jaffar: *Classification of Records—Pakistani System—Progressive Plan.*

86. Cf. Cordasco and Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, pp. 29-30, 50-51.

synthesis is virtually complete, the candidate is required to re-examine it critically and record his own comments in the column in which he has already incorporated his own ideas while consulting the source-material and collecting the relevant data. It is open to him to shift material from one chapter to another and even from one paragraph to another in the same chapter, renumbering the passages or sentences, where necessary, or inserting correction slips.[87] He should now have the thesis typed in duplicate, one copy for his own use and the other for the scrutiny of his supervisor. The supervisor goes through the thesis and offers his comments and criticism by way of advice.

11. Over-all Picture.

Hitherto the candidate has written up his thesis analytically as well as synthetically, lineally as well as collaterally. Now he is called upon to weigh and view the *whole* to make sure that the picture he has drawn is complete and correct. Here he is required to read and think through the evidence collected, to act as a judge and to see whether all the evidence on the subject has been assimilated, pieced together in logical sequence and subjected to critical examination and cross-examination. He is now in a position to draw his own conclusions and record his own verdict without fear or favour. If he is endowed with a keen insight and intuition and a wide vision, and if he has brought them to bear upon his thesis, the results of his researches will be remarkable,[88]

12. Medium of Expression: Method of Presentation.

Language is an indispensable medium of expression and transmission of impressions and information, ideas and ideals, thoughts and theories, etc.

87. Cf. *Ibid.* 88. Cf. *Ibid.*

It is more than a mere 'vehicle of tradition'. Precise and polished language is an asset as important for the thesis as preaching is for precept, practice for principle and example for act. What is transmitted is invariably influenced by the medium of expression, the means of transmission and the method of presentation, the effect produced by each being relatively good or bad.[89] The meaning or the message communicated is the soul or spirit and the language in which it is presented is the body of the thesis. Just as a good soul should have an equally good body, similarly a good thesis should have an equally good language. While over-all emphasis is laid on the meaning or message (soul), exposition, expression and eloquence (body) cannot be ignored or overlooked. The two together constitute real research and original contribution.

13. **Finishing Touches.**

When the thesis is fully documented, when it is critically weighed, viewed and reviewed, when the conclusions are drawn and carefully considered, and when the language is corrected and polished, the candidate is directed to go through it again and give it finishing touches in documentation, logical sequence, authenticity of evidence and eloquence of expression.[90]

14. **Additional Information.**

After the completion of the thesis, the candidate finds that some material has been left over, because it could not find a place either in the text or in the footnotes in appropriate places on account of its

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89. Gordon Childe: *What Happened in History*?, p. 12.

90. Cf. Cordasco and Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, pp. 50-51; Carter-Davidson: *A Reader for Writers*, pp, 242-43; Sams-Mc Neir: *Problems in Reading and Writing*, pp. 563, ff.

length or because it could not be inserted in appropriate places without breaking the continuity of the theme or impairing the line of argument. Here the solution lies in adding Appendices or Supplement. It happens that the author of a book comes across some fresh material when the book is in the press and the portion where it could be inserted has been printed. In such a case, the matter may be added in the form of an Appendix and a reference inserted in the Preface.[91]

Education Commission on Research.

The Commission on National Education in Pakistan has laid well-merited over-all emphasis on Research in the scheme of educational reconstruction in such strong terms as: 'Adequate provision for fundamental and applied research is essential for any country which wishes to be strong and progressive,' and 'The function of a university is to advance knowledge and promote research.'[92] It has made a number of recommendations which, as far as they go—and they go far enough—, do form the foundation of real research. It is now for the experts to work out plans and programmes of research in their respective fields.

Research Rules at Universities.

The rules regulating admission to examinations for research degrees (Ph. D., D. Lit., etc.) will be found rather restrictive and out of date. They will have to be revised and, where necessary, recast so as to be made reasonably liberal. They must aim at facilitating rather than fettering research. In actual practice also the spirit should not be sacrificed for the letter of the law. Genuine research scholars who

91. Cf. Cardasco and Gatner: *Research and Report-Writing*, pp. 5, ff., 36.

92. *Report of the Commission on National Education in Pakistan*, pp. 26, 210.

possess capacity for original research and who can produce satisfactory evidence such as sufficient experience and published or unpublished work of respectable merit in support of their claims must be admitted to research classes even if they do not possess the prescribed paper qualifications.[93] Either the relevant rules should be relaxed or a provision to this effect made in the existing rules. The rule relating to residence at the university shall have be revised or relaxed in favour of candidates who can do their research work elsewhere equally well or better. Likewise, the period of research may be raised or reduced in deserving cases.

Viva Voce.

As a practical test of ability, both inherent and acquired, *viva voce* must have an ever-increasing role in every scheme of education, and in every branch of knowledge. Ever and anon every effort should be made and every avenue should be explored to ascertain that the thesis submitted by a candidate is his or her own work. The candidate should be subjected to a detailed *viva voce*, aiming at evaluation of general ability and special knowledge of the subject.[94]

Boards of Studies and Examiners.

Members of Selection Boards or Boards of Studies in general and persons in charge of research classes and examiners in particular should be research scholars of outstanding ability, fully conversant with the subjects of study and the sources of information, both original and secondary, the technique of research and the methods of teaching.[95]

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93. *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 21, 26.

94. Viva voce is being introduced in some important examinations; but it has not yet received the attention it deserves.

95. At present this condition is not imposed on the members of the teaching staff, who are on the boards of studies in various universities.

Research Rules in other Institutions.

The rules regulating access to original sources of information at such research centres as archives, museums and libraries shall have to be revised and couched in a liberal spirit. Those in force in Record Offices and libraries under foreign governments were bound to be very restrictive, because the policy of those powers was to guard against embarrassing disclosures.[96] With the dawn of independence here, there and elsewhere, restrictions will have to be replaced by facilities for free access.

Research Facilities.

The Commission has laid strong stress on 'high quality in the work done,' and 'necessary facilities.' It has recommended that 'no department be allowed to undertake Ph. D. work in a particular subject unless the Committee of Advanced Studies in the university is satisfied that the necessary facilities, including effective supervision, are available.'[97] It follows that all research centres should be adequately equipped with the material for and the means of research as well as with the requisite trained staff. They should enter into agreements with one another for the loan of source-material on reciprocal basis, and each of them should know what material is available and what work is being done at the other, by whom and with what results. The relevant information should be published and sent to the interested individuals and institutions.[98] Such amenities as fans in summer and fire in winter, if provided, will have a salutary effect.

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96. For instance, see Rules Regulating Research in the Central Record Office, Peshawar, framed and enforced in 1947.

97. The Central Record Office at Peshawar affords a fairly good example of the type of work envisaged above.

98. Such information is being regularly published in the Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society every year.

Promotion of Research.

Original research should be encouraged in every possible way, e.g. by setting up boards and institutes, by awarding scholarships to suitable candidates, by sending scholars to other places in search of source-material and by rawarding research work of outstanding merit. Trusts should also be founded and richly endowed for that purpose. Undue importance should not be attached to foreign degrees and foreign experts may be employed only in exceptional cases. It is hoped that the role of radio stations as knowledge-desseminating centres will be greater than at present. While exploring all avenues and encouraging research in every possible way, we should not forget to take note of the following facts:

> To establish strong research departments we require highly qualified staff. All teaching and guidance at the Honours, Master's and Ph. D. levels should be done by men who have adequate research qualificatious. All efforts should be made to recruit staff, at least professors and readers, who have good research degrees OR some years of research experience as well as published work. The quality of research work should thus be maintained at a high level. In particular, the senior doctorate degree should be awarded only for pubished work of eminence as judged by international standards.[99]

Fundamental Research: Research Centres.

The need for training in the methods of research is realised for science students for conducting nation's research programmes. The need for such man-power for humanities and social sciences cannot be ignored. So far as fundamental research is concerned, the Commission has expressed the following views:

> There is in our country a growing enthusiasm for applied research. We hope this will not lead to the neglect of fundamental research. It must be remembered that no nation can afford to ignore such research if it wishes to develop and keep pace, in the long run, with other nations. The Report of the Parliamentary and

99. *Report of the Commission on National Education*, p. 26.

Scientific Committee of the United Kingdom has reminded us that applied science requires not only the fundamental discoveries of past generations but also fresh discoveries, if it is to retain its vitality. It is necessary to emphasise this point because there is a mistaken view prevailing in some circles that industrial research is a national necessity while fundamental research is a luxury. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The history of science is full of instances showing that fundamental research is the primary stage and industrial research is the secondary stage in man's progress. In fact it is on fundamental research that the industrial and economic progress of a country ultimately depends. There is no genuine knowledge of the universe that is not potentially a part of the history of men and the practical applications of the most abstract knowledge have been abundantly demonstrated in the history of civilization.[100]

The need for research centres, where the methodology of research in specific subjects could be taught, is a dire necessity. Research without the proper concept of research, without the methods of research, without the means of research and without the raw materials of research will be research without requisite results.

Co-ordination of Rasearch.

Strongly urging that the universities in Pakistan should make vigorous efforts 'to build up research and teaching facilities at post-graduate level at least in the basic arts and science subjects' and develop 'research programmes', the Commission on National Education has rightly stressed the co-ordination of research in the following words:

> Careful co-ordination is, however, imperative to avoid unnecessary duplication, wasteful competition and diffused use of our all too few qualified teachers. It would obviously be preferable from the national point of view to have one or two strong centres in a particular speciality rather than to attempt several which might all be weak.[101]

100. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 26. The Board of Historical Studies and Research at Peshawar has undertaken the co-ordination of research at the University of Peshawar, the Central Record Office, Peshawar and the Pushto Academy at Peshawar.

Where research on the same subject is conducted in several centres, it is important and even imperative to chalk out a uniform policy, to prepare plans, to prescribe proper procedure and to pursue a well planned programme with a view to eliminating all avoidable over-lapping and duplication, rooting out or removing all remediable defects and reconciling differences in such a way as to get the maximum benefit. With regard to its range and scope, co-ordination shall cover all such aspects as synthesis, sequence, space, staff, safety, safeguards, etc. Duplication means unnecessary and wasteful repetition of research on the same subject or a part thereof, on the same lines, with the same material and with the same results. Obviously, this involves unnecessary and avoidable waste and must be eliminated. Research on the same subject shall not involve duplication if the material for research is different, if the subject is the same but the period covered is different, if a specific aspect of the same subject is selected for intensive research, if the angle of vision and the methods of approach are different, and if the discovery of fresh material and development of methodology, reinterpretation or reorientation justify a review of the whole situation.[102] Research on Indo-Afghan Relations, covering a specific period, cannot preclude research on the earlier and later periods of the same subject. Needless to add that there can be no co-ordination without co-operation of all concerned in completing the over-all picture. The task of co-ordination through mutual co-operation can be accomplished by personal collaboration as well as by postal correspondence, but that by personal collaboration is more effective.

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102. Marc Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, p. 58.

High-powered Autonomous Board.

The Commission on National Education in Pakistan has held that 'there is an urgent need for a central body to co-ordinate the work of various research councils and organisations and of the universities whose post-graduate work involves a considerable amount of research' and recommended after careful consideration that 'the Ministry of Education should set up a high-powered autonomous Board' consisting of 'eminent scientists and representatives of organizations, agencies and institutions in research,' and that 'the various councils which have the responsibility to organise and develop research in their particular fields should have the necessary freedom and authority to plan and execute the programme of research in their particular fields according to their best judgment.'[103] In view of the varying nature of research, it is imperative that the Board must have, as envisaged, councils or committees consisting of specialists in their respective fields to make research as effective as possible.

II. **Preservation of Present.**

With regard to the second part of our duty, surely it will be contended that the collection, preservation and organisation of ever-accumulating evidence, official archives, business records, newspapers, periodicals, reviews, reports, private correspondence, etc. and the maintenance of inter-relation between documents required for writing a history of our own times will present problems of space and system in addition to those of access and evaluation. The solutions are not far to seek: The problem of prolonging the life of paper is

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103. *Report of the Commission on National Education in Pakistan*, pp. 28-29.

largely solved by the scientific processes of vacuum-cleaning, fumigation, lamination and air-conditioning; that of preservation of material by scientific accommodation; that of preserving the text and ensuring the economy of space by micro-filming; and that of systematic or scientific arrangement of records by the Pakistani System: Progressive Plan, devised and developed for that purpose.[104] In every civilized society it is the duty of the administrations and institutions, offices and individuals concerned to see that the evidence on which their day-to-day business is conducted at present and on which its history will be based in future is properly preserved, safely accommodated, systematically arranged and easily made available for reference and research. There is lot of wisdom in the statement that "A government that cannot produce the authentic records of a nation's acts may find itself in the same plight as one that cannot redeem its paper currency with gold." According to Allama Iqbal, historical experience is for nation what memory is for man; the loss of historical experience is the loss of entity in one case and the loss of memory is the loss of individuality in the other. President Ayub laid strong stress on these two points when he inaugurated the Statistical Conference at Karachi with these words: "It is essential that all plans and programmes must be based on accurate data....... Policies and decisions based on incomplete statistics might not only retard progress but in the long run might lead to contrary results. Availability of adequate and reliable data was indispensable to the two tasks of improving the efficiency of administration and promoting the economic and social well-being of the

104. Jaffar: *The Problems of an Archivist*, pp. 5, ff; *Classification of Records - Pakistani System—Progressive Plan.*

people. As regards Oral Evidence—verbal and wireless messages, telephonic talks, interviews, replies to questions, etc., which form important links in the chain of accounts—,it is the duty of all concerned to preserve them, where possible, by tape-recorders, gramophone records, type-writers, duplicators, teleprinters, short-hand, cypher or secret writing, etc. and put them at the disposal of the government and the historian for reference and research.[105]

Interrelation of Records.

'The key to writing history,' says Graham, 'is building up relationships between events' and that involves 'search for the vital thread or threads.' Putting it another way, he says, that the art of writing history 'involves architecture—the creation of a structure out of untidy masses of accumulated evidence—based on the discovery of relations between the pieces which are facts or events,' and concludes that 'the art of the historian is to give meaning to so-called facts.' Closely connected with the question of 'relationships between events' is that of interrelation of records which represent recorded history—which are memorials of events and occurrences.[106] If individuals and institutions, administrations and organizations kept their current records according to a logical system and took care to maintain

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105. Hall: *British Archives*, p. 51; Jaffar: *Archives*, pp. 12, ff. In reply to a point raised by the writer in an official gathering at the Government House, Peshawar, regarding the reorganization of records in West Pakistan, the President reaffirmed the fact that no Government worth the name can work without records and no nation can have its true history without well-preserved and well-organized archives. He promised prompt action in the matter.

106. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec., 1960, pp. 13-14.

their interrelation, not only would it add to efficiency and eliminate all chances of errors and omissions but also enable the historian of the future, no less than the administrator of to-day, to guard against the pitfalls resulting from garbled data, to present facts in their proper perspective, to produce a perfect picture and to draw correct conclusions. Such a system—*Progressive Plan*—is now available and it is hoped that it will add to the accuracy as well as authenticity of history and strengthen its claim to rank as a science.[107] A brief account of the *Progressive Plan* will not be out of place in this connection.

Progressive Plan.

In the absence of a sound system of record-keeping or classification of records, there shall be complete chaos; memory shall fail and not only will the record keeper waste his time and energy in tracing the references required from time to time, but his failure to produce them promptly shall throw the administrative machinery out of gear. On the other hand, if the records are properly preserved and organised, not only will the work of the record keeper be simplified and his labour reduced, but the efficiency of the office or institution, establishment or administration will increase and its interests shall be better served.[108] Notwithstanding the over-all importance of archives, record-keeping or classification of records has not received the attention it so richly deserves and the result is that the decisions based on deficient and distorted data are wrong and the unscrupulous record keeper as well as the dishonest historian can successfully fish in the troubled waters. That this is fraught with disastrous consequences for the present adminis-

107. Jaffar: *Classification of Records—Pakistani System—Progressive Plan.*

108. Jaffar: Paper on *Archives* read at the annual session of the Historical Records and Archives Commission for Pakistan at Karachi in 1958.

tration as well as for future generations cannot be denied and the need for a sound and scientific system of record-keeping cannot be over-stressed.[109] *The Progressive plan*, of which the synopsis is being presented here, lays down only policy, principles and procedure to be followed in the classification of current records in all types of offices and organizations and leaves all the rest or routine to the choice of the custodian concerned.

Synopsis.

The three fundamentals of record classification are (1) Base, (2) Plan, and (3) Notation. The *Progressive Plan* provides for as many main subjects or major heads, signified by Arabic numerals (notation), as may be required. In other words, its base is neither limited nor fixed, so that it can easily accommodate any number of subjects on equal footing. The Plan corresponds completely to an accepted classification of knowledge or information: Each main head can be divided and subdivided again and again, if and when required, *ad infinitum* and prapers pertaining to the same subject can be grouped together and distinguished from those of other groups or fonds formed on other subjects.[110] The accompanying diagrams, indicating a branching or ramification from an original stem or source (mother file) aptly illustrate the *Progressive Plan.* The main ramifications (thickest lines) and their off-shoots (lines of proportionately reduced thickness) stand respectively for main subjects and their branches, i. e. divisions and subdivisions. It will be observed that as many more additions can be made to the existing divisions and subdivisions as may be required now and in future at every stage. These diagrams illustrate a systematic progressive movement from the general to the specific or in genetic order.

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109. *Ibid.*; *Classification of Records—Pakistani System Progressive Plan*, pp. 1, ff., 19-20. 110. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, ff.


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The Notation employed in the *Progressive Plan* is exceedingly simple and best-suited to the system. It consists of Arabic numerals, oblique (/) and dot (.), which can be expressed in any language. While the dot distinguishes one division from another under subject as well as title (file) classification, the oblique separates the subject or class number from the title (file) number. The symbols (notation: Arabic numerals, oblique and dot) as such are fixed, but not in relation to subjects and files. In other words, the record-keeper is at liberty to assign these (but no other) symbols to the subjects dealt with and the records or files kept in his custody in accordance with the principles and procedure prescribed for the purpose.[111] The subjects dealt with in the current fonds or files are classified and assigned class numbers—Arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and so on—, number 1 being reserved for correspondence of general character and for such papers as are too few to justify the opening of separate heads. Each subject or main head shall have as many divisions and subdivisions under it as may be required, each division and subdivision being separated from the other by a dot (.). If a subject or main head has no divisions and subdivisions under it, the number (Arabic numeral) assigned to it will be followed straight away by the file number (Arabic numeral), where necessary, the two being separated from each other by an oblique (/) drawn in between. No. 1 in each group is reserved for papers too general in character to be assigned to a specific head as well as for papers too few to justify the opening of a separate head, at least in initial stages.[112] As under subject classification, so also under each fond or file, where necessary, there can be as many divisions and subdivisions for volumes, parts, etc. as may be required, each division and subdivision being separated from

111. *Ibid.*, p. 6. 112. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

the other of its class by a dot inserted in between. In each case, as already stated, the class number shall be separated from the file number, if any, by an oblique.[113] While such subjects as are common to all offices and institutions and such subjects as are special to specific offices and institutions can be classified and assigned their numbers (notation) in a register well in advance with due regard to administrative requirements in each case, the rest of the subjects about which no idea can be formed in the beginning and the records relating to which are too few to justify the opening of new heads, must wait and the papers pertaining thereto be kept in the main or mother file under the major head or sub-head, numbered 1. In course of time, when correspondence on a subject or subjects begins to increase with a tendency to accumulate further in future, separate heads, sub-heads, etc. may be started and separate files opened thereunder, each new file so started being cross-referenced with the relevant main or mother file.[114] The relevant papers originally kept in the mother file must remain in it intact or be replaced by fly-sheets showing the subject dealt with, the number of file to which they are transferred and the number of pages assigned to them; for, otherwise (when detached without reference), the sequence and interrelation will be destroyed or disturbed and the result will be complete chaos, especially when the files are paginated and the pages are referred to in the correspondence and office notes which too are numbered and referred to. Though the *Progressive Plan*, which is perfect in every respect, permits of infinite intercalation at every stage, the *Register of Files* and the files started under wrong heads must continue to bear old (wrong) numbers side by side with new (correct) ones for facilitating future reference, if and when necessary, and the

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113. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

114. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

record-keeper concerned must exercise all possible care in the opening of new heads and files. When a wrong entry is corrected, the two entries (old and new) in the *Register of Files* and the two files (one in which a paper or papers were wrongly kept and the other to which they or their copies are correctly transferred) must be cross-referenced.[115]

Illustration.

The following example adequately illustrates the breakdown of a subject (Archives) in a big office and shows how the Base, the Plan and the Notation of the *Progressive Plan* are progressive and how they can keep pace with the growth of a given collection.

Example.

1	**General or Mixed.** (For all subjects).
	This main head is reserved for general works not directly connected with archives or archival science.
2	**Archives.**
2.1	General. (For Archives).
2.1.1	Books on Archival Science.
2.1.1/1	*Archives Administration*, H. Jenkinson.
2.1.1/2	*Problems of an Archivist*, S. M. Jaffar.
2.1.1/3	*Archives: Meaning, Scope and Importance*, S. M. Jaffar.
	Add all other books on archival science to the list after the oblique.
2.1.2	Reports.

115. *Ibid.*

2.1.2/1	*Annual Report, Public Record Office, Ldn.*
2.1.2/1.1	„ „ „ „ „ 1946.
2.1.2/1.2	„ „ „ „ „ 1947.
2.1.2/1.3	„ „ „ „ „ 1948.
	Continue the list after the last dot by adding all other annual reports of the Public Record Office (London) as and when they are received.
2.1.2/2	*Annual Report, National Archives, India.*
2.1.2/2.1	„ „ „ „ 1951.
2.1.2/2.2	„ „ „ „ 1952.
2.1.2/2.3	„ „ „ „ 1953.
	Add all subsequent reports of the National Archives of India to the list after the last dot.
2.1.2/3	*Annual Report, National Archives, USA.*
2.1.2/3.1	„ „ „ „ 1951.
2.1.2/3.2	„ „ „ „ 1952.
2.1.2/3.3	„ „ „ „ 1953.
	Continue the list after the last dot by adding all subsequent reports of the National Archives of U.S.A., when received. Continue also the list after the oblique for the annual reports of other archival institutions and arrange their reports under their respective heads in the manner indicated above.
2.1.3	Journals.
2.1.3/1	*The Indian Archives.*
2.1.3/1.1.1	Volume 1, No. 1, January, 1947.
2.1.3/1.1.2	Volume 1, No. 2, April, 1947.

2.1.3/1.1.3	Volume I, No. 3, July, 1947.
2.1.3/1.1.4	Volume I, No. 4, October, 1947.
2.1.3/1.2.1	Volume II, No. 1, January, 1948.
2.1.3/1.2.2-4	Volume II, Nos. 2-4, April, July, and October, 1948.
	Add all other issues, when received, to the list after the penultimate dot, grouping the volumes and their parts under their respective heads as indicated above.
2.2	Archives of Government of India.
2.2.1	General.
2.2.1/1	*Selections From Records* (Mixed).
2.2.1/1.3	No. III (Foreign Department).
2.2.1/1.4	No. IV ,, ,,
2.2.1/1.6	No. VI ,, ,,
2.2.1/1.7	No. VII ,, ,,
2.2.1/1.37	No. XXXVII Public Works Department.
2.2.1/1.51	No. LI Home ,,
2.2.1/1.52	No. LII Public Works ,,
	Add all other volumes of the series (as also the missing links) when received (or found) to the list after the last dot. Create as many more title-heads as required after the oblique for other periodicals and arrange their issues, as and when received, under their respective heads after dots.
2.2.2	Foreign Department.
2.2.2/1	General.
2.2.2/1.1	Proceedings for 1901.
2.2.2/1.2	,, ,, 1902.
2.2.2/1.3	,, ,, 1903.

	Add all other volumes of the series to the list after the last dot.
2.2.2/2	Frontier.
2.2.2/2.1	Proceedings for 1901.
2.2.2/2.2	„ „ 1902.
2.2.2/2.3	„ „ 1903.
	Add all other volumes of the series to the list after the last dot.
2.2.2/3	Political.
2.2.2/3.1	Proceedings for 1901.
2.2.2/3.2	„ „ 1902.
2.2.2/3.3	„ „ 1903.
	Add all other volumes of the series to the list after the last dot.
2.2.2/4	States.
2.2.2/4.1	Proceedings for 1901.
2.2.2/4.2	„ „ 1902.
2.2.2/4.3	„ „ 1903.
	Add all other volumes of the Proceedings to the list after the last dot. Create as many more numbers for collective titles as required for other branches of the Foreign Department after the oblique and group the Proceedings under their respective heads, following the same procedure as outlined above.
2.3	Punjab Government.
2.3.1	General.
2.3.1/1	Selections From the Public Correspondence of the Punjab Government.
2.3.1/1.4	Volume IV.
2.3.1/1.4.2	No. 2.
2.3.1/1.4.3	No. 3.

2.3.1/1.4.4	No. 4.
2.3.1/1.4.5	No. 5.
	Add all other volumes and parts (including missing links), when received, to the list after the last two dots in the same way as indicated above.
2.3.1/2	Selections From the Records of the Office of the Financial Commissioner, Punjab.
2.3.1/2.1	No. 1.
2.3.1/2.2	No. 2.
2.3.1/2.11	No. 11.
2.3.1/2.13	No. 13.
	Add all other numbers of the series (including missing links, when recovered) to the list after the last dot.
2.3.1/3	General Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies.
2.3.1/3.1	For 1858-59.
2.3.1/3.2	For 1860-61.
2.3.1/3.3	For 1862-63.
	Add all other reports of the series to the list after the last dot, renumbering the series, where necessary, i.e. when earlier reports are traced and added.
2.3.2	Foreign Department.
2.3.2/1	General.
2.3.2/1.1	Proceedings for January-June, 1949.
2.3.2/1.2	,, ,, July-December, 1849.
2.3.2/1.3	,, ,, January-June, 1850.
2.3.2/1.4	,, ,, July-December, 1850.
	Add all other volumes and parts to the list after the last dot as indicated above.

2.3.2/2	Political.		
2.3.2/2.1	Proceedings for	January—June,	1849.
2.3.2/2.2	„	July—December,	1849.
2.3.2/2.3	„	January—June,	1850.
2.3.2/2.4	„	July—December,	1850.
	Add all other volumes to the list after the last dot.		
2.3.2/3	Frontier.		
2.3.2/3.1	Proceedings for	January—June,	1849.
2.3.2/3.2	„	July—December,	1849.
2.3.2/3.3	„	January—June,	1850.
2.3.2/3.4	„	July—December,	1850.

Add all other issues to the list after the last dot. Create as many more title-heads as required after the oblique for other branches (e.g. States, etc.) of Foreign Department and group the Proceedings under their respective heads. Create also as many major heads, sub-heads, etc. as required for subjects other than archives and follow the same procedure for grouping them in their respective places in the manner indicated above.

Explanation.

The symbols (or signs signifying subjects), placed before the oblique, are called Class Numbers and those placed after the oblique are called File Numbers. The two together are called Call Numbers. In some cases, as stated above, simply Class Numbers will suffice and it will not be necessary to add File Numbers to complete Call Numbers; in other cases, where records are accommodated in several blocks, rooms, racks, etc ., the location marks expressed in the same notation can also be added to the Call Numbers for the sake of convenience. In that case, the Block Number will come first, the Room Number thereafter

and the Rack Number last of all, each separated from the other by a dot and the whole placed under the Call Number, a horizontal line separating the two.[116] Classification of all kinds can be developed and carried to the farthest limits, but the custodian concerned must take care at every stage to keep the Call Numbers well within reasonable limits. He must also ensure that the arrangement of records on racks is in conformity with the *Progressive Plan* and on all fours with the Register of Files, consisting of loose leaves tied together with a lace drawn through two holes to the left, so as to admit additions and alterations at every stage. The racks, preferably provided with pigeon-holes, should be allotted to various heads according to their requirements in such a way as to suit the system and permit the movement of files from shelf to shelf and rack to rack. They should be furnished with labels, bearing numbers of heads and files in the notation employed for the purpose. Some blank space should always be left at the end of each group for accommodating new files to be started from time to time.[117] How the Progressive Plan has made room for wrongly recorded knowledge without losing its own logic is evident from the notation 2.2/1, ff. (which in the above example) stands for selections from records relating to different departments. Instead of forming a separate group for the selections of each department and giving it a separate symbol or representative mark, the Government concerned got them all printed in the form of a continuous series—all

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116. $\dfrac{2.2.1/50.2}{1.2.10}$ $\qquad$ $\dfrac{2.3.2/3.2}{5.4.3}$

Thus in the Call Numbers quoted above the first line stands for subject and title and the second for the place where the material is kept—building, block, room, etc.

117. Jaffar: *Classification of Records—Pakistani System—Progressive Plan*, pp. 15-16.

mixed and mingled up. The Progressive Plan has accommodated them adequately because it has reserved space under the head General for such wrongly recorded knowledge and mixed up information.[118]

Evaluation.

If offices and institutions, establishments and administrations, etc. keep their current records, according to the *Progressive Plan*, which is declared as 'scientific' and 'fundamentally sound' by experts, not only will it ensure efficiency, eliminate all chances of errors and omissions, guard against frauds, etc., but also promote genuine historical studies and research. And, if in addition to this, the officials and the authorities concerned take proper care in maintaining the relationship af connected papers and files by means of cross-references, etc., the historian of the future, no less than the administrator of to-day, will be in a position to guard against the pitfalls resulting from deficient and distorted data, to present facts in their proper place and produce a perfect picture. For the purpose of wider uniformity also the *Progressive Plan* will lend itself to standardization of subjects and the symbols signifying them as easily in relation to a group of offices under one control as in relation to a single office, should this be decided upon by a Government or a governing body and enforced in all the offices and institutions under its control, as a rule.[119]

Principle of Provenance.

The *Pakistani System of Classification—Progressive Plan—*, presented above, will solve the problem of the future historian, but the historian of to-day is confronted with the problems his predecessors had to face—collection of surviving and scattered evidence,

118. *Ibid.* 119. *Ibid.*

verification of originality, ascertainment of authenticity, rehabilitation of references, and restoration of interrelation. Adequately equipped with modern methodology, the historian of today can surmount his problems by adhering to the Principle of Provenance or the arrangement of records followed by the individuals or agencies that produced them.[120]

Ultimate Problem & Solution.

History has been interpreted and re-interpreted so many times that it has been defined and described as 'interpretation of interpretations.' Likewise, historians have added their own thoughts and theories, themes and theses to the existing stock. The process in each case is continuously adding to the immensity of the task of the historians, increasing the field of investigation and enlarging the scope of the subject.[121]

Accumulating Evidence.

In spite of the heavy loss which can never be retrieved, historical evidence has vastly increased. Archaeological excavations have brought fresh *finds* to limelight; persons and parties engaged in the survey of historical records and MSS. have rescued lot of material of interest and importance; and official archives, institutional records, private correspondence, business papers, etc. are multiplying. The process of accumulation has been accelerated by the printing press, duplicators, typewriters and other devices discovered and developed by man. Likewise, the scope of history has become universal in time and space, subjects and contents, etc.,[122] with the result that History has swelled and will go on swelling in

120. Hubert Hall: *The British Archives*, pp. 329, ff.

121. Shotwell: *Introduction to the History of History*, p. 334. Also see pp. 115 ff., 199 ff., 283 ff., 324 ff. of this Volume.

122. See pp. 115, ff. of this Volume.

future. The question that confronts us now is whether it will be humanly possible to cope with the evidence that will be preserved by the means and methods suggested above and whether human brain will be able to stand the strain and stress entailed by the stupendous task involved.[123] Human brain has shown commendable capacity for absorbing ever-increasing knowledge and devising ever-afresh means and methods of simplifying his problems and accomplishing his work. It will do so in future. If at all, the time comes when it finds itself unable to cope with the work, it will content itself with patterns and not particulars, designs and not details, forms and not features, essence and not appearance. History shall have to be condensed and weeding out accretions will become imperative.[124] History will continue to be a statement of facts, but at the same time it will concern itself more and more with the causes and effects of historical and cultural phenomena. The principle of cause and effect or causation, which forms the foundation of research in physical sciences, will also hold good in the interpretation of history and the method of reasoning applied to the former shall apply equally to the latter. A cultural phenomenon shall be investigated in the same way as the analysis of a chemical or the problems of physical science.[125] From the cradle to the grave man is beset with constructive and destructive forces and his best efforts are directed towards acquainting himself with their nature. G. Le Bon has likened World-History to a fabric of enormous

123. As against the version or view that lot of history was left unrecorded and lot of recorded history has been lost, we are warned that "the historian will be crushed under the weight of his materials." Hall: British Archives, p. 188.

124. Shotwell: *Introduction to the History of History*, p. 334; *History* in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

125. Gustave Le Bon: *Civilization Dies Arabes* (Bilgrami's Translation), p. 94.

dimensions, the component parts whereof hold together with the aid of one another. Every historical phenomenon, whatever it may be, has its root in the events of the past.[126] The future will follow the present in the same way as the present has succeeded the past. To one endowed with Inward Knowledge or *Ilm-ul-Ladunni* the existing phenomena afford a key to the endless continuity of the events of the past. Such a genius, regarded as impossible by G. Le Bon, has found expression in the person of the prophets and those firmly grounded in knowledge, called *Rasikhuna fil ilm* and *Ahl-az-Zikr*, who were endowed with inner insight by the all-creative Author, who is all-knowing, all-hearing and all-seeing. Such knowledge is beyond the reach of the scientist and G. Le Bon is right when he says: 'If a heavenly body is caught by the gravitation of different other heavenly bodies, mathematics will fail to find out the direction of motion on the basis of calculation. What can be expected from our knowledge which is confronted with thousands of gravitating forces?'[127] Since the number of forces forming a particular cause is legion, it is argued, the task of ascertaining the causes of all the events which have taken place is impossible.[128] It is impossible for the laity but not for the specialists referred to above. Nevertheless, it is admitted by all, with a few exceptions, that the present is explained with the help of the past and future forecasts are facilitated with the study of the past and the present.[129] Perfection in history, so also in other sciences, is only relative. It is perfecting itself and the process will continue *ad infinitum*.[130] We have shown that no science, not

126. *Ibid.* pp. 94-95.

127. *Ibid.* Also see pp. 341, ff. of this Volume.

128. Gustave Le Bon: *Civilization Dies Arabes* (Bilgrami's Translation), p. 95.

129. See pp. 173, ff. of this Vol. 130. *Ibid.*, pp. 124, ff.

even mathematics, can claim finality or absolute perfection.[131] Go on adding to the number beginning with 1 and there will be no end to the increasing additions: there is no finality and hence no perfection. Again, we note that, although the product by multiplication is greater than the sum total by addition, the former is, in one case, equal to and in another less than the latter. Thus $2\times2=4$ and $2+2=4$, and $1\times1=1$ and $1+1=2$. The discrepancies are obvious. Such is the position of the so-called 'exact science' of mathematics in the initial stages. History will go on swelling in the same way as other sciences—it will go on perfecting itself—without reaching the terminus or finality. If, in the course of perfecting themselves, physical sciences have made rapid strides and changed the face of the earth and abstract sciences have made marvellous progress, history has not remained where it used to be: It has advanced by leaps and bounds and accelerated the advance of all arts and sciences. It forms the foundation of all knowledge and no one can do without it. Do away with history, and see the fate of the world.[132] The inescapable conclusion, therefore, is that the historian holds a high place in the scheme of the universe—higher than that of specialists in other fields—, because he has to view the whole and put everything in its proper place.[133] The idea that the task is impossible and will defy all efforts in that direction and end in smoke, that the laws of history made to-day will be unmade tomorrow, that time will come when man will not care for his past and when archival, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence will be destroyed by its enemies before being used and when physical science *alone* will remain in the field and afford evidence about the real nature of human existence and the existence of the All-Creative

131. *Ibid.*, p. 126. 132. *Ibid.*, pp. 192, ff. 133. *Ibid.*, p. 349.

Author,[134] has been exploded by the exponents of the opposite school who maintain that the physical sciences too have failed and found themselves helpless when confronted with what is called 'Great Mystery' and the complexities of human nature and pointedly ask: Why should we expect from history more than we do from the so called 'exact sciences'?[135] Science has taken great strides, but it has not succeeded in investigating and explaining the mysteries of the universe and the complexities of human existence. History is perfecting itself in the same way as science. Neither can claim perfection in the strict sense of the word. The struggle between science and religion, which also means struggle between science and history, will end in the triumph of truth: Time will come when both of them will affirm the same truth.[136]

Historical Method: Historical Vision.

Why, after a perusal of the preceding pages, it may be asked, should there be such a long procedure or paraphernalia for writing history and conducting historical research? The simple answer to this question is that the object of history is to ascertain and present facts, to assemble and elucidate evidence, to rehabilitate records and to restore their interrelation, to draw logical conclusions and to deliver judgment.[137] History aims at digging out and presenting truth — a perfect picture of the past or a faithful record of what has actually happened, both good and bad, right and wrong, true and

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134. Reinaud quoted. G. Le Bon: *Civilization Deis Arabes*, (Bilgrami's Translation) pp. 95-96. 135. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

136. See pp. 124, ff., 138-41, 536-37 of this Volume.

137. Hyde: *Recent Developments in Historical Method and Interpretation*, pp.2-3; Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec., 1960, pp. 13-14.

untrue, complete and incomplete. It includes wilful suppression of facts and deliberate distortions, fables and fabrications as facts in themselves, though far from truth. As a narrative, history cannot exclude *evil*, however ugly and repugnant, immoral and inhuman; it cannot dismiss myths, however illogical and impossible, and it cannot do away with miracles, however unintelligible and incomprehensible, but they must be so stated on the basis of authentic evidence to avoid all possible confusion.'[138] How the task can be simplified and how the results can be made sure by following *method*, will be evident from the account already presented. One cannot completely concur with Lord Acton's conclusion that it is "method, not genius or eloquence or erudition, that makes the historian."[139] With all the aids and instruments at its service, 'history is not a product of established routines'. It is 'neither watch-making nor cabinet-construction.' It is still 'essentially a handicraft; machanical devices and techniques of research are an aid, but they are no substitute for scholarly learning, disciplined imagination, judgment, instinct.'[140] Nevertheless, the role of *method* in the realm of history and historical research cannot be minimized. History has ceased to be a story or a branch of *belles lettres*. It is now a separate subject, a serious study, a distinct discipline. Like other disciplines concerned with exploration, elucidation and interpretation of themes or subject-matter relating thereto, history has its own subject to deal with—man and milieu—"the nearest and noblest studies of mankind"—in relation to their

138. See pp. 124-25 138-42. 251,ff. of this Volume.

139. Lord Acton quoted. Hyde: *Recent Developments in Historical Method and Interpretation*, p. 2.

140. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research*, published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. xii, Dec., 1960, p. 9; Marc Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, p. 12.

environments and physical phenomena.[141] It deals with distinct phenomena, deserving delineation in relation to other contiguous and co-existing phenomena. The "process of man's reflection on his own history" has got an importance of its own and to trace this process is the task of the historian.[142] It places at our disposal the fruits of what has hitherto been admitted and accomplished in its own sphere as well as in the fields of other disciplines. The process involved is one of experimentation and observation, inquiry and investigation, intellect and imagination or, in other words, of science and experience, philosophy and art, all of which are best expressed by the Quranic term *Hikmat.*[143] When the research scholar deals with such specific points as how to select a subject for research and the topic for the thesis, how to assemble evidence and build up bibliography, how to make a mental picture and draw up a synopsis, how to consult and handle the original, secondary and tertiary sources, how to take notes and trace relevant references, how to connect and collate evidence, how to develop the documentation and think through the theme, how to take down ideas in the passing process when the material is hot in the melting-pot, and how to revise and rewrite the whole in the final form and give it finishing touches, etc., he deals with his subject methodically, systematically, scientifically.[144] Actually, the mechanical part of research and writing history is not totally devoid of imagination and intellect; it is "the younger or slower man's way of thought."[145] Revising, rewriting

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141. See p. 125 of this Volume. 142. *Ibid.*

143. *Ibid.*, p. 338. 144. *Ibid.*, pp. 126, ff., 196, 213, ff.

145. Graham: *Some Considerations on Historical Research* published in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, p. 13; Marc Bloch: *The Historian's Craft*, pp. 112, ff.

or recasting on right lines requires critical thought or brain work. When the mechanical part of the process gives way to the mental or intellectual and when the research scholar attemps to explain the *how* and *why* of what has happened in relation to other phenomena, when he undertakes to establish the interrelation of events and occurrences, when he tries to trace their causes and effects (causation) and when he resorts to reason and reflective thinking, he deals with his subject philosophically and history assumes the role of philosophy.[146] A critical review of all that has happened (history) and the application of the methods of induction and deduction to the historical phenomena unmistakably establish the claim of history to rank as philosophy.[147] As the researcher proceeds further, he is confronted with the complexities of human nature which can be solved or explained by art at a high level. Such an art is the outcome of intuition, insight, inspiration or *Ilm-ul-Ladduni* translated into English as 'inward knowledge.' When history combines all the qualities counted here and employs them in the interpretation of historical phenomena, called *Tawil-il-Ahadis* in the *Holy Quran*, it assumes the role of *Hikmat* or *Hunar* of a high level.[148]

Historian's Task and Talents.

Professor Montgomery Hyde has very ably embodied in the following passage the qualifications of the historian and the nature of his work highlighted in the preceding account:

> The historian's task is both interesting and exciting, but it is far from easy. The most thorough application of historical method[149] requires rigorous training and constant prac-

146. See pp. 128, 218-19, 221-22, 338, ff. of this Volume.
147. *Ibid.* pp. 126, 217. 148. *Ibid.* pp. 338, ff.
149. The 'historical method,' as described by Hyde, is "the process of assembling and elucidating the evidence of the past." Hyde: *Historical Method and Interpretation*, p. 2.

tice in the latest techniques. First of all, the historian must learn to investigate the truth about the past so that he is able to differentiate clearly between fact and probability; he must carefully compare and assess the evidence he has acquired after diligent and painstaking search; he must form an accurate estimate of human character and motives; he must be able to analyse cause and effect; he must be on his guard to withstand the temptation to interpret the fact of the past by the standards of the present; and he must endeavour to ascertain the philosophic basis of those facts—in other words, he must root out and examine in the searchlight of his workshop the political, social and economic ideas which have inspired and motivated human actions at any given period of history. Most important, he must always verify his sources. Above all, although he need not disguise his personal sympathies, he must be fair, an operation which he may sometimes find to be of Herculean difficulty. At any rate, he should always bear in mind that he is not an advocate pleading a cause but, as far as he can be, an impartial judge. Finally, he must cultivate the art of narrative, since his work, when it finds its way into print, should sustain the reader's interest as well as adding to the stock of human knowledge.[150]

Dr. Hubert Hall has also expressed his views on the subject and the following passage from his pen will be found full of interest and instruction:

There can be little doubt therefore that both for practical and moral purposes the nation would benefit by the maintenance of a high standard of historical method. The historian who is fully equipped for his task, through the goodwill of the State, may hope to accomplish great things. To him many books will be open that are now shut; to him many well-kept secrets of statecraft will be revealed. He will trace the inception and course of every political action, of every constitutional measure, and of many important economic or social developments. He will record the great deeds of the nation in its material and moral progress, giving credit, where it is really due, to men of action or scholars, and he will also faithfully expose the neglect of duty or errors of judgment that have been responsible for national inefficiency or disaster.[151]

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150. *Ibid.*, p. 3. 151. Hall: *British Archives* p. 55.

Historians' Responsibility.

Those who have taken history as a profession should note that they are the torch-bearers of truth, the custodians of peace and the hope of humanity. Their's is one of the noblest professions. They must not betray it at any cost. They must wake up, take stock of the situation and save the sinking ship. They should form themselves into a new corps of history, capable of reconstructing the past on firm foundations and in proper perspective and preserving the present intact and interrelated with the use of the most up-to-date materials and modern methodology devised and developed for the purpose.[152] While a great deal will depend upon the active co-operation of all concerned, they, on their part, should do their best and leave no effort unspared. The task before them, beset with difficulties and dangers, is formidable indeed, but it is worth attempting, for every effort in this direction will mean a step forward on the path of progress. New methods and machinery have added and will go on adding to their equipment.[153] The gravity of the responsibility that devolves upon them cannot be denied. The future of the faith, the state and the culture of the world depends upon the way they handle the evidence at their disposal and the conclusions they draw from it. They are always on trial and their greatness and glory lie in the excellence of the manner they acquit themselves of their duty, often accompanied by difficulties and dangers, poor pecuniary returns and poverty. They must fix their faith in the axiom: *Virtue is its own reward.*[154]

Precept and Practice

How far the principles and precepts propounded and presented in the preceding pages are practicable and profitable will be proved by a glimpse of the activities of

152. Jaffar: *Role of Research in History*, pp. 46, ff.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47. 154. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, ff.

the Central Record Office set up at Peshawar in 1947 by the Government of the former North-West Frontier Province. This office has not only rescued and preserved a huge mass of official and non-official records, MSS., etc.of administrative and historical importance but has also met equally well the requirements of the administrator and the researcher. An authentic *History of the Frontier* (cis-trans Indus), being written under its direction by a number of specialists, is nearing completion. As an integral part of the Diploma Course instituted by the Provincial Government in 1948, it has continued to impart training in the latest methods of record-preservation, record-keeping and historical research. In other words, it is the only institution of its kind in Pakistan which is actively engaged in accomplishing the two-fold task of the reconstruction of the past on the basis of the authentic evidence made available and the preservation of the present with the aid of the latest methods and machinery and in the light of the concept considered to be the best. After his tour of the Middle East, which included a visit to the Central Record Office at Peshawar, Professor J.C. Hurewitz, Director of Near and Middle East Institute, Columbia University (U.S.A.), recorded the following remarks:

> " I need hardly add how impressed I was to find such a lively interest in archives in the N-W.F.P. It was one of the most enduring impressions on my present trip to the Middle East."[155]

Time has, however, come when we must have a net-work of such progressive institutions not only in all parts of Pakistan but all over the world.

Review.

It has been asserted and re-asserted that researches shall continue and results shall be recorded—that his-

155. For this and similar opinions expressed by other distinguished scholars, see Administration Report of the Central Record Office (West Pakistan) for 1956-57. This and other Annual Reports can be had from the Director of Archives, Peshawar.

tory shall be written and re-written—from time to time. The reasons for this may be summarised here: (1) As all that happens is history, the volume of history being enacted is rapidly increasing and adding to the immensity of the task. (2) Although lot of what is happening is left unrecorded and unpreserved, a good deal of history so defined is recorded and preserved.[156] (3) What is recorded and preserved is not real history but its reflection or shadow,—even less than that—in a number of languages, always open to improvement. (4) Not all the evidence that has passed down to posterity was well-preserved and well-organised; it is neither intact nor interrelated because it was not intended to be used by the historian for the reconstruction of history as it was. (5) At times the evidence collected was not complete and it was not accurately evaluated and interpreted and hence correct conclusions were not drawn from it. (6) The evidence also underwent serious changes in the course of transmission. (7) Personal prejudices and preconceived notions, political power and party affiliations, etc. often spoiled good history. (8) Archaeological and archival finds go on filling gaps and supplying missing links. (9) Angles of vision, concepts and cultures differ with different people for different reasons and there is no uniformity in evaluating and interpreting historical phenomena, drawing conclusions and recording judgments. (10) Different people follow different ideologies in assessing facts and figures, individuals and institutions, etc. (11) Such ancillary sciences as anthropology, archaeology, geology, epigraphy, palaeography, geography, numismatics, diplomatics, etc. have begun to influence the course and contents of history and will go on doing so.[157] (12) Inventions

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156. Jaffar: *Role of Research in History*, pp. 1, ff.

157. See pp. 11, ff., 87, ff., 134, ff. of this Volume.

and discoveries, improved methods and techniques, increasing vision and wisdom will not allow history as a whole to remain unchanged in meaning and message. As the frontiers of history have extended to the farthest limits and the scope of history has become all-inclusive in time and space, contents and their comprehensiveness, history will continue to command ever-increasing importance and the role of research in tracing history (all that has happened) from the past to the present and from the present back to the past will be far greater in future than it has been so far. The ever-increasing *whole* of what has happend (history) will be written and re-written from time to time on the basis of its component parts and each part will be portrayed with reference to the whole with the aid of mechanical and mental equipment – *mechanical* for the preservation and permanence, collection and correlation of evidence and *mental* for the interpretation and exposition of facts, expression of opinion and recording of judgment. As a discipline, which aims at recording all that has happened, history has reached a stage where the historian not only states facts, but also interprets them, establishes their interrelation, draws conclusions and passes judgment. The factors or forces which count in making an estimate and which form the foundations of interpretations, decisions and judgments are: (1) sources of information or knowledge and (2) concept or culture, culminating and crystalising in ideology. Ethically, estimates may be good or bad and judgments may be right or wrong according to the quantity and quality of evidence, conflicting concepts and antagonistic ideologies. Hence the necessity of choosing and following the best of all ideologies—that emanating from the supreme spiritual source—God.[158]

158. *Ibid*., pp. 117, ff., 283, ff., 324, 399, ff.

CONCLUSION

Headlines.

We have come to the close of the enquiry—What is History? We have dealt with various aspects of the subject and discussed details in certain cases in the course of answering the question. We hope it will be in the interests of peace and progress if we revert to the main theme and refer once again to the headlines and make a few observations.

Meaning and Scope: Purpose and Importance.

Both in meaning and scope, purpose and importance history is not what it used to be. From *fables* to *facts*, from *story* to *science*, from *facts* to *philosophy* and from *art* to *intuition* it has covered a long distance.[1] It means a faithful record of the past experience of mankind in relation to the Creator and the rest of creation. Its scope has extended in *time* and *space*, *subjects* and *contents*, *nature* and *influence*. In *time* it covers the past, the present and the future and is one creative and continuous movement. In *space* it extends over the whole world —the entire universe—which forms a physical unity. So far as the *subjects* and their *contents* are concerned, it is knowledge, the whole of known knowledge. It is at the root of all arts and sciences. It is closely related to religion in-as-much as it aims at digging out and preserving truth or a true account of the past. By showing the right path it can fill in the 'spiritual vacuum' and bring about the much-needed 'spiritual unification' side by side with the 'physical unification' which is more or less an

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1. Toynbee: *A Study of History*, p. 44; Wallbank and Taylor: *Civilization: Past and Present*, Vol. i, pp. 110, ff. Also see pp. 116, ff., 221-22, 333, ff., 192, ff. and 103 of this Volume.

accomplished fact. In *nature* it is knowledge –narrative, science, philosophy and art at a high level. Strictly speaking, history is a statement of facts; it is the method of approach or treatment which is scientific, philosophic or artistic.[2] Taking all aspects of history together and viewing it from all angles, we may re-state and re-define history as follows: *History is everything and everything is history.* History is all that has happened and not merely that which has been brought on record.[3] Recorded history or history on record is in fact a mere moiety of the mass left unrecorded. That left unrecorded is being reclaimed and the process of reclamation, writing and re-writing history, will go on till eternity. 'New History' is freeing itself from the forms and formalities with which it was fettered in the past. If all that has happened is history, it follows that no period was without it. Archaeology and anthropology have added so much to the store of knowledge about human activity that it is neither logical nor scientific to use the term 'pre-historic' except in a very restricted sense when employed to designate that 'vague and hypothetical, period' of the past of which there are no written records or when history was regarded as a branch of *belles lettres* and not as an independent discipline. The term is being discredited and replaced by the term 'pre-literary' in modern historical works, to indicate the period of which we have no written records.[4] The tendency to define history as the record of man's accomplishments or his march from savagery to civilization[5] is only partly correct in that it ignores the other(dark) side of the picture. As a statement of facts, it cannot

2. See p. 237 of this Volume. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 199, ff.

4. For the fallacy of some other terms, see *ibid.* pp. 91, ff., 539. See also *History* in *The Encyclopaedia Americana.*

5. Childe: *What Happened in History?*, pp. 1, ff.

ignore the forces of evil and their misdoings and while dealing with the struggle between right and wrong or good and evil it has to present a perfect picture of both.[6] In fact *good* and *evil* belong to the realm of concept[7] and their practical work to the domain of history. As a source of information, history will be drawn upon by the sponsors, supporters and subscribers of all concepts. The best use of history depends upon the best concept of religion.[8] It is a dynamic force that drives ahead and galvanizes the dead, a river that flows and fertilizes the soil, and a tower of light that shines and illumines the world. Its influence is penetrating as well as far-reaching. No one can afford to lose interest in it without losing interest in life.[9] As a passive power, it can be employed rightly as well as wrongly with right as well as wrong ends in view. It can be approached, interpreted and applied accordingly.[10] Put on a wrong track, it will lead astray and when it is put on the right path it will guide rightly to the goal. It is capable of doing immense harm if abused and great good if rightly applied. Rollin's remarks on the right use of history are remarkable. He says:

> It is not without reason that History has always been considered as the light of ages, the depository of events, the faithful evidence of truth, the source of prudence and good counsel, and the rule of conduct and manners......It is History which fixes the seal of immortality upon actions truly great; and sets a mark of infamy on vices, which no after-age can ever obliterate. It is by history that mistaken merit and oppressed virtue, appeal to the incorruptible tribunal of posterity, which renders them the justice their own age has sometimes refused them, and without respect of persons, and the fear of a power which subsists no more, con-

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6. See. p. 124 of this Vol. 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, ff., 245. ff.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 283, ff. 399, ff. 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 349-50, 427-29.

10. Geyl: *Use and Abuse of History*, pp. 10-11. See also pp. 104-05 of this Volume.

demns the unjust abuse of authority with inexorable rigour.... Thus History, when it is well taught, becomes a school of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the mask from false virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices, dispels the delusive charms of riches, and all the vain pomp which dazzles the imagination, and shows, by a thousand examples that are more availing than all reasonings whatsoever, that nothing is great and recommendable but honour and probity.[11]

The foregoing exordium is considered to be 'as just as it is eloquent—as apposite as it is complete.[12]

Methods of Treatment.

We have dealt with two different methods of writing and re-writing history: One aims at viewing and reviewing the *whole* as a whole on the ground that splitting up or separation of part from the whole renders both (whole as well as part) deficient and defective;[13] and the other aims at specialization which tends to concentrate on 'more and more about less and less' with a tendency to ignore the whole.[14] There is an obvious clash between these two approaches to history: *extensive*, dealing with the whole, and *intensive* dealing with the part. The remedy lies in their reconciliation. The writing and re-writing of history or historical research should be extensive as well as intensive and the historians concerned should hold the balance between the two extremes. In other words, history should be written collaterally as well as lineally, synthetically as well as analytically, without losing sight of the sense of proportion.[15] In future the study of history will be pursued from the past to the present and from the present to the past,

11. Rollin quoted. Maunder: *The Treasury of History, Preface*, p. xi. 12. *Ibid.* 13. See p. 291 of this Volume.

14. Cardasco-Gatner: *Research and Report Writing*, p. 14.

15. Durant: *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. i, *Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. i, ff.; Russell: *History of Western Philosophy*, pp. 733, ff.

i.e. forward and backward; and the past will be approached and explained with the help of the present in the same way as the present is approached and explained with the help of the past.[16] Now and in future all ancillary arts and sciences will come to the aid of history in the same way as history has helped them all in the past.[17] Inventions and discoveries have revolutionized the means and methods of historical research and carried history far ahead. While the principle of provenance has proved useful in rehabilitating records or restoring the interrelation of old documents, the Pakistani System—Progressive Plan—will ensure a perfect picture of the present by mapping out the material in its proper place and establishing its interrelation.[18] All important stages in the progress of historical research beginning with a statement of facts, striving at perfection and precision by mechanical processes, aiming at an explanation of the *how* and *why* in addition to the *what*, *when* and *where* of history, and culminating in a perfect picture of the past which mirrors the *whole* in relation to its component *parts* and the *parts* in relation to the *whole* with the help of *vision* have been stated and practical procedure for research has been prescribed.[19]

Historical Sense: East and West.

We have traced the development of Historical Sense in the East and the West and seen that the movement in either case was an independent growth. The similarity between the two in certain cases was due to the sameness of human nature and natural phenomena. The foundations of history, like the foundations of other sciences, were laid in the East and lot of constructive work was accomplished.

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16. See pp. 173, ff. of this Volume. 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 115, ff.

18. *Ibid.*, p.p. 475, ff. 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 124, ff., 427, ff.

In his Introduction *to the Story of Civilization*, Dr. Durant writes:

> Our story begins with the Orient not merely because Asia was the scene of the older civilizations known to us, but because these civilizations formed the background and basis of that Greek and Roman Culture which Sir Henry Maine mistakenly supposed to be the whole source of the modern mind. We shall be surprised to learn how much of our most indispensable inventions, our economic and political organisation, our science and our literature, our philosophy and our religion, go back to Egypt and the Orient.[20]

The West was late in the field, but it outdistanced the East as a whole except so far as Islamic Contribution is concerned. The two together have enriched the treasury of history with the wealth of wisdom which cannot be minimized.

Islamic Concept.

The part played by *concept* in human history has been portrayed and the effects of the conflict of concepts and the clash of convictions have been traced. It is also shown how imperative it is to form a clear concept of all that is contemplated and desired to be owned or accomplished.[21] Reliable *record* and *reason* have combined to prove that Islamic Concept of History and Religion, based on Islamic Ideology as crystalized in the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*, has excelled and outdistanced all other concepts and cultures: It has met the requirements of the modern age and has potentialities to remain firm in the field and to influence the course of history and human affairs in times to come. It will give guidance and glory, but the conditions precedent are: sincerity and selfless pursuit of knowledge and truth.[22] History now claims to cover the entire range of knowledge. It is now

20. Durant: *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. i, *Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. i, ff. 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, ff. 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 383, ff.

regarded as 'all inclusive'. This may be new or novel to the world, but not to Islam, which is universal in outlook, appeal and application.[23] The light derived from the Holy Quran by one of limited knowledge and very little insight, if any, is a sufficient indication of the flood of light that awaits better brains with greater insight and intuition.[24] Specialists in other fields, who are better equipped with general and technical knowledge and adequately endowd with inner light or vision, can get greater gain and guidance from it, provided they are firmly grounded in it. The Holy Quran claims to contain all that is known as knowledge. We have traced the guidance we get from it on history according to our own lights and proved how it has provided food for the modern mind and much more besides, how it has covered all correct concepts of history and gone ahead. But it must be borne in mind that the guidance we get will do no good as long as nations disagree so violently on the interpretation of history and historical facts. This disagreement is due to the swelling self-centredness. So far as faiths and philosophies are concerned, there can be no universal agreement even on the fundamentals as long as there is a conflict of concepts and clash of convictions.[25] What is required is not the rounding of edges and corners of existing faiths and philosophies, as suggested by some scholars,[26] but the selection of the ideal faith.[27]

Islamic Versus Greek Thought.

Having evolved the Islamic Concept of History in the light of Quranic Ideology and viewed it against the background of the theories of various thinkers, we

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 400, ff.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 283, ff.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, ff.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 384, ff.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 242, ff., 283, ff., 365, ff., 399, ff.

are now in a position to sum up the subject and express our opinion. A review of the accumulated experience of mankind shows that there are two Schools of Thought—Greek and Islamic—, which have appealed to the modern mind more than any other.[28] Conscientious critics have conceded that Islamic Thought is 'an independent growth' and has eclipsed Greek Thought in almost every sphere.[29] As in other fields, so also in the field of history, Islamic Thought has gone far ahead and responded to the requirements of mankind at all times, in all climes and at all levels.[30]

Main Difference.

From Islamic point of view one (Islamic Thought) was divine and the other (Greek Thought) was human. From non-Islamic point of view both of them were human, but the former has been recognised as far superior to the latter.[31] Another point of difference between the two is that the Greek Thought lacked that unifying spiritual and moral force which the Islamic Thought, springing from a single source, carried with it: Every word of the *Quran* is the word of God and must be honoured and obeyed by every Muslim. Consequently, the historical literature produced by the Muslims under the influence of Islamic Ideology is far superior to that produced by the West under the influence of Greek Thought based on several conflicting sources.[32] People who have not made a scientific study

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, ff., 144, ff., 176, ff. 283, ff. 324, ff.

29. Thompson: *A History of Historical Writing*, Vol. i. p. 339; Rosenthal: *A History of Muslim Historiography*, pp. 28 ff., 174. Also see pp. 171-72, 364 of this Volume.

30. See pp. 172-73, 364 of this Vol. 31. *Ibid.*, pp. 383, ff.

32. Thompson: *A History of Historical Writing*, Vol. i, p. 339; Rosenthal: *A History of Muslim Historiography*, pp. 28 ff. Also see pp. 171-72 and 174 of this Volume.

of the Holy Quran are surprised, even stunned, at the intellectual output of the Muslims. With the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* as the sources of guidance, there is little justification for such a surprise. What is really surprising is that as a whole they have not produced what they ought to have done under the influence of Islam. Two factors were responsible for retarding the real progress of Islam: First: A good deal of useful work was undone or destroyed by its enemies within as well as outside its ranks. Secondly: Those who possessed the potentialities of progressive thoughts and theories, acts and institutions were prevented by the party in power from making their own contributions.[33] While hired historians busied themselves with the work of inventing traditions and manufacturing history under official patronage, particularly during the heyday of the Omayyades[34] (like their fellow workers in the West),[35] spirited souls never hesitated to expose the falsification of history and announce the truth in the teeth of opposition, and even at the cost of their lives and all that they loved,[36] so that it is not impossible to reconstruct Muslim History on solid and sound foundations. The task is overdue.[37] It has long awaited the attention of Muslim historians. The sooner it is started in right earnest, the better for the benefit of the whole of humanity.

Islamic Influence.

The influence of Islam and Islamic Culture on the West has been traced in passing in the words of non-Muslim scholars of eminence and integrity.[38]

33. This is generally true of world history. See pp. 87, ff. of this Volume.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 87, ff.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 103, ff.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 328-29.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 521, ff.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 399, ff.

That influence was so supreme and over-spreading in scope that no aspect of European growth escaped the ambit of its operation.[39] This is true. But the glowing guidance on history contained in the *Quran* was left unnoticed. Professor Issawi's remark that Ibn Khaldun (who had drawn his inspiration from the *Quran*) "was discovered by the West too late to influence its thought"[40] is correct to the extent that Ibn Khaldun has not influenced the West now as he would have done had he come to its notice earlier and in time. Again, we cannot rule out the possibility or probability that the West, where Islam was woefully vilified,[41] would not have traced the influence of the Quran in his work even if it had come to its notice in time, because he has nowhere indicated the sources of his inspiration[42] and it is only recently that Allama Iqbal partially traced the influence of Islam in the *Prolegomena*[43] and it is only now that we have partially discovered the foundations of historical thought and the fundamentals of historical research in the Holy Quran.[44]

Relation Between Religion & History.

We have already seen that the relation between Religion and History was very close in the past in the East as well as in the West.[45] It is so even today and it is bound to be so in future. The existing estrangement on the part of a part of world population is a passing phase and the two will walk hand in hand and work together for eliminating evil and

39. *Ibid.* 40. Issawi: *An Arab Philosophy of History.*
41. Stubbe: *Mahometanism*, pp. 49, ff. and 209, ff.
42. See pp. 44, ff. of this Volume. 43. *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 52.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 144, ff., 283, ff., 324, ff.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, ff., 83-4, 138, ff., 223, 283, ff.

error from the face of the earth; they will never allow evil without a rival in the field.[46] Their role in this age of reason and science shall be greater than ever before, for there will be no room for blind belief on the one side and foul-play and fraud on the other, provided they are not abused by the interested in their own favour.[47] In either case, much depends upon the attitude of the persons and parties in power on the one hand and the proponents and professors of religion and history on the other, and upon their close and conscientious co-operation in the vindication of truth.[48]

Divine Plan: Cause & Effect.

Having proved the presence of the Power behind the phenomena, the Power at the back of all existence, the Power that created the Universe, and the Power that supports and sustains the heavens and the earth and all that is between them so systematically and scientifically,[49] it is not difficult to perceive the Divine Plan which is at work everywhere and which is visible in the movement of the sun and the stars, the heavens and the earth, the alternation of day and night, the birth and death of human beings, the rise and fall of nations, the ebb and flow of the tide, the spring and autumn of vegetation, etc.[50] The Divine Plan follows a regular course of causation or cause and effect. It is completely consistent with Reason. In fact, it is the very foundation of Reason. We have already pointed out and proved that there is no clash between the Divine Plan and the Laws of

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46. *Ibid.*, pp. 173, ff. 283, ff. 47. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 7, ff. 49. *Ibid.*, pp. 420, ff. 50. *Ibid.*

Nature. Both are completely consistent. If one is theory, the other is practice. If one is idea, the other is act. If one is soul, the other is substance. This accounts for the harmony in the universe or Cosmos. The process of cause and effect or causation, the creation of man from the goodliest order, equipped with the faculties of feeling, seeing, speaking, smelling, testing, hearing, talking, walking, etc. and endowed with the power of reasoning, judging between good and bad and the provision of guidance in the shape of message and messengers, etc. are all in accordance with the Divine Plan.[51] Conformity with the Divine Plan or accord with the guidance provided leads to Good and deviation from the Divine Plan leads to Evil. The worst of all evil is ignorance about the Creator and revolt against His Power and Plan. If man's mission in this world is to glorify God, if his goal is God and he has got to go back to Him and account for what he thought and wrought in this world and if he has to receive reward or retribution therefor, he must follow the Divine Guidance, which must be universal and uniform, and be in harmony with the Divine Power and the Divine Plan.[52] What is the Divine Guidance? It is man's duty to find out and follow up. Needless to add how careful and conscientious he ought to be in the matter of pick and choose from the existing religions of the world.[53]

Final Faith.

A comparative study of the existing faiths and philosophies has led us to the conclusion that Religion has survived and stayed and is bound to stay notwithstanding the patronage of its proponents or the

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 246, ff. 52. *Ibid.* pp. 248-50.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 242, ff., 365, ff., 309, ff.

opposition of its opponents and that Islam is the final faith and the faith of future mankind because it is natural, founded on facts and rooted in reason, and because it has found such supporters as have laid down their lives and sacrificed their all for saving it when it was passing through its infancy.[54] As the Eternal Voice, the Divine Message and the Spiritual Force, Islam has resisted the ravages of the Homo Sapiens and retained its originality and integrity, purity and perfection, comprehensiveness and practicability intact and in order. It has held its own and made no compromise with local conditions and changing circumstances. It has always moulded the milieu and has never been moulded by it. This is its distinguishing feature and a convincing proof of its divinity.[55] The fact that it is ideal in every respect and provides guidance for all mankind, for all times, at all places and at all levels leaves no room for doubt that it is superhuman and hence divine and this itself is a proof positive of the presence of the Power within and without the universe. Its model or messenger—the Holy Prophet— is as perfect and as universal in every respect as the message is complete and comprehensive. Mankind cannot find a better message or model—not even equally or approximately so.[56] This is the age of atomic weapons. The world is at the brink of breakdown.[57] Time has come when we must sink our differences, at least on major issues, and unite into one family, one nation, one race called humanity. The dynamic world is drawing towards a universal State, a universal faith and a universal brotherhood

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54. *Ibid.*, pp. 309, ff. 55. *Ibid.* 56. *Ibid.*

57. Toynbee: *Security and Disarmament in the Age of Atomic Weapons*, pp. 1-2; *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, pp. 37, ff. Also see pp. 229, ff. of this Volume.

—which, of all faiths and philosophies, Islam alone can present in the best and most perfect form.[58] The world has followed many a formula and found it wanting—woefully wanting. Let it now try that presented by God—Islam—the Message of God and the Mission of Muhammad, Christ, Moses and all other Prophets of God. Islam is universal in the sense in which no other religion can claim universality—it is the only embodiment of the essentials and the essence of all theistic religions of the world.[59] It is final because it has not been followed or succeeded by any first-rate faith since it sprang into prominence over 1,300 years ago and is not equalled by any existing faith or philosophy in fundamentals or formalities.[60]

Its Future Role.

With the annihilation of distance by technology, the inhabitants of distant parts of the world are being brought together into closer contact and the diffusion of knowledge has also received a great impetus. Reason is being applied to Religion, which is being rationalized, with the result that the people of the West, to whom 'the Muslims were 'Infidels, Miscreants, Paynims, Pagans, Heathens Heathen hounds, Enemies of God,' and 'idolators who worshipped God Mahomet', to whom Islam was presented as 'a scourge of heaven for the punishment of the Christians' and Muhammad as 'False God, who was worshipped by his followers' and to whom Islam was out of bounds,[61] have begun to learn

58. See pp. 309, ff. 59. *Ibid.*, pp. 283, ff., 399, ff.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 242, ff. 309, ff. Also see Introduction to *The World's Great Religions* by Hutchinson, pp. 1,ff.

61. Stubbe: *Mahometanism*, pp. 149,ff.,209, ff. (Continued)

the truth about the last messenger and the final message and express such opinions about them as have been quoted in their proper places.[62] The deep-seated prejudice is gradually giving way and they will be followed by the people, professedly or unprofessedly. The increasing awareness in the West of the need for the study of Islamic history, culture, civilization, etc. is remarkable. Recently, a number of non-Muslim writers have raised their pens and written volumes on Islam and Islamic Culture. We have referred to some of them at appropriate places and quoted their comments and criticism, noted their terms and technique and pointed out certain trends and tendencies which call for careful and cautious consideration.[63] We say this in the same spirit in which we have said so about Muslim writers. Religion is the most difficult and delicate problem and must be dealt with most carefully and conscientiously even by the most competent. The international colloquiums on Islam and Islamic culture being held in different parts of the world and attended by the representatives of almost all religions is

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Also see pp. 423-24 of this Volume. Toynbee's conclusions in this connection are corroborative:

'But though the West studied Islamic science till the seventeenth century, it remained fantastically ignorant of what Islam was. The conventional mediaeval Christian belief was that Muslims worshipped Muhammad as a god, and this in the form of an idol.'

'Serious Islamic studies began in the West in the seventeenth century.'

'But anti-Islamic Western prejudice survived both the beginning of a scholarly Western knowledge of Islam and also the decay of Western belief in Christianity.'

Toynbee: Lecture on *The Impact of Islam on Other Religions and Civilizations.*

62. See pp. 411-12 of this Volume. 63. *Ibid.*, pp. 91, ff.

another index of the word-interest in Islam and an indication of its future role in the world.[64] It is the responsibility of the Muslim World to ensure that these colloquiums are conducted in accordance with the Quranic Concept and the truly Islamic spirit. Equally important and imperative it is for the Musalmans in general and the true proponents and exponents of Islam in particular to realize their responsibility and to behave in a truly Islamic manner. The Commission on National Education in Pakistan has rightly emphasised the importance of religion as 'the most vital civilising force in the history of mankind' and recommended that religious education should be 'an integral part of the educational system,' that universities should 'advance knowledge and promote research' in this discipline, that 'university teachers should have a thorough knowledge of comparative religion and world history to be able to bring out clearly and forcefully the important role religion has played in the social, economic and political life of mankind,' that they should 'undertake research and present Islam in its true spirit,' that Islamic scholars should 'bring together knowledge of the fundamental Islamic values and of modern sciences,' that Islam should be followed 'as a code of practical life in the light of the Holy Quran and the life of the Prophet,' etc. It is the duty of experts to expose those who act as foes in the form of friends and thus harm the cause of Islam. As the best of religions have had the worst of followers and the best of parents have had the worst of children, it will be fundamentally wrong to judge the faiths by their followers or the parents by their progeny.[65]

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64. See *Proceedings* and *Papers of International Colloquiums on Islamic Culture.* Princeton: 1953 and Lahore: 1958.

65. Runciman's *Lecture* on *History* at Peshawar.

As a thing is best judged by knowing what good it is capable of producing, the best of its products should form the criterion with which to judge it. Likewise, the best of progeny should form the standard of judging the parents, the best of followers should form the standard of testing the true worth of faiths and the best of creation should form the touchstone of testing the truth about the all-creative Author.[66]

Role of History in Future.

So far as the role of history in future is concerned, we have urged that *history* should be rewritten and the *present* should be properly preserved.[67] The history of the past requires to be rewritten because we know that most of what has happened so far (history) has remained unrecorded and a great deal of what has been recorded is not free from serious flaws.[68] Modern methodology and scientific technique have revolutionized our concept of history and opened up fresh avenues of approach and re-orientation.[69] The door is therefore open to investigation and improvement and it will always remain so; and the process of re-writing or tracing history from the past to the present and from the present to the past will continue *ad infinitum*, with the aid of archaeology, anthropology, philology, biology, geology, etc. on the one hand and archives, palaeography, diplomatic, etc. on the other.[70] The present must be preserved in proper perspective so that the historian of the future may not face

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66. See *Hadis-i-Mufazzal* in the *Kitabul Sama' wal' Alam* in the *Bihar-ul-Anwar* of Allama Majlisi and Thomas Paine: *The Age of Reason*, pp. 34, ff.; Ellicott: *Six Addresses*, pp. 55, ff. Also see pp. 309, ff. of this Volume.

67. See pp. 427, ff. of this Volume.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 200, ff.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 435, ff.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 135, ff., 530.

the problems that are confronting us to-day.[71] We have to preserve what is happening to-day (history) in the form of records —hand-written or manuscript, typed or cyclostyled, printed or lithographed, photographed, or microfilmed and in the form of code words with their keys and sound records, etc.[72] The immensity of the task involved—preservation of ever-accumulating evidence and the recovery and presentation of the past—, is acknowledged and it is asserted that the human brain, which has shown commendable capacity for absorption and assimilation will not fail in future in finding solutions of fresh problems, and it is stated that in case it cannot cope with the colossal work despite modern methodology and technique including vacuum-cleaning and fumigation, air-conditioning and lamination, photographing and microfilming, etc., it will have to resort to weeding out accretions and content itself with condensed history, with patterns rather than particulars, designs rather than details, essence rather than accretions.[73] It is only by doing so that we can liquidate the deep debt of gratitude we owe to our predecessors — the people of the past — for leaving behind record of what happened in their times in the form of writing on rocks, clay-tablets, metal plates and stone slabs, paper and parchment.[74] In fine, the role of history in future will be infinitely greater and more important than ever before.

Historian on Trial.

The true historian has always had to wade his way through toils and trials to the ultimate triumphs of truth. His task of telling the truth was beset

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, ff., 87, ff.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 472, ff.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 490-91.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, ff., 524, ff.

with dangers and difficulties.[75] It is hoped that in this 'Age of Reason and Science' when the importance of history as promoter of peace and progress is so widely recognized,[76] he will acquit himself most creditably with the co-operation of all concerned. Even if he is not helped and even if his work is hindered, history will not remain hidden and vice will not vanquish virtue in the long run.[77] The ideal will remain an ideal and there will be no finality or absolute perfection, but every effort to attain the ideal will mean a step forward on the path of progress.[78] There is no finality even in such 'exact sciences' as mathematics, as we have already proved,[79] and there can be none in history. History is perfecting itself in the same way as other sciences, without claiming finality. Researches in history shall continue in the same way as in other fields of knowledge. There is no time-limit and there ought to be none: Writing and re-writing of history shall commence when pictures and patterns begin to emerge from the fresh evidence collected and collated. The process shall continue and time will come when the laws of history, like the laws of science, will be recognized by universal agreement.[80] Real research in history as well as in other subjects must flower and flourish under the influence of Islam which has furnished the most favourable field, afforded the most excellent guidance and acted as the most fertilizing force; and it ought to begin in an Islamic State or a Muslim country with the re-evaluation of the collections of the *Hadis* of the

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75. *Ibid.*, pp. 87, ff., 112-13.

76. Maunder: *The Treasury of History*, pp. xii, ff. Also see pp. 115, ff., 143, ff. of this Volume.

77. See pp. 514-15 of this Volume. 78. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 213, ff. Also see Supplement, pp. 536-37.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 429, ff., *Hubert* Hall: *British Archives*, p. xix.

Holy Prophet and the reconstruction of Islamic History on right lines. Time has came when we must take up and consider the question whether it is possible and profitable to decide upon a collection of *Ahadis* which may be recognized as the word of the Holy Prophet in the same way as the Holy Quran is acknowledged as the word of Allah by the entire Muslim World. The proposed conference of the distinguished divines (Ulama) of Islam in Cairo at international level for a review of the collections of the *Ahadis* of the Holy Prophet is the first step in that direction. It is hoped that it will soon be followed by the second step — reconstruction of Islamic History— on the same lines and in the same spirit, very likely at the Pakistan History Conference to be held at Karachi at international level for the first time in 1962. Side by side with the co-operative effort at international level, individual effort at personal level must also continue unhampered, if not encouraged, for we know that it has often succeeded where co-operative effort has failed to achieve the end in view — truth.[81] With the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* as the sources of inspiration and information, light and learning, the faithful followers of Islam must rise to the height of the occasion and take the lead in historical research, unite the whole of humanity and guide it to its ultimate goal. This is the quintessence of the theme and its threads thrashed in this volume with reference to their counterparts elsewhere.[82]

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81 When in a paper read at the Pakistan History Conference at Rajshahi in February, 1960, the writer raised these two points and stressed the necessity of re-evaluation of *Ahadis* and the reconstruction of Islamic History, he found himself in trouble. The proposed conference at Cairo has decided one issue and also paved the way for the decision of the other.

82. See Chapters IX and X of this Volume. Also see Shafi: *The Role of History* published in the *Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore*, dated May 10, 1961.

SUPPLEMENT

The additional information adduced under this head is intended to supplement that already presented in its proper place. Part of it escaped attention at the time of printing, part came to notice after the printing stage and part could not be fitted into the text or in the footnotes without spoiling the sequence and sense. It is now produced here in such a way that it can be easily connected with the part it relates to.

Chapter II

HISTORICAL SENSE IN THE EAST

China: Historians' Paradise.

The Chinese have always looked upon letters and literature as a great asset and history as the greatest. 'No other nation,' says Durant,' has had so many historians, certainly no other nation has written such extensive histories.' The kings had their court-historians who chronicled the important events of their reigns, chiefly their achievements. The historic and honorific office of the court-historian, coming down to our times, 'has raised up in China a mass of historical literature unequalled in length and fullness anywhere else on the earth.' The twenty four official 'Dynastic Histories' published in 1747 ran to 219 large volumes. Szuma's historical work consisted of five parts: (1) Annals of the Emperors, (2) Chronological Tables. (3) Rites, Music, Pitch-pipes, Calendar, Astrology, Imperial Sacrifices, Water Course and Political Economy, covering eight chapters in all, (4) Annals of Feudal Nobles, and (5) Biographical

Accounts of Eminent Personalities. The whole work scanned a period of about 3,000 years.[1]

Referring to the Chinese interest in archaeology, Marcel Granet has stated: 'One remark holds for China in all ages. Nowhere have archaeological discoveries excited a more passionate interest than in this country.'[2] Another remark that holds equally good about China for all times is: Tradition has formed the foundation of Chinese History. The same scholar has also stated: 'Tradition was the basic principle of the political and the religious life. It was an article of faith. There is reason for the assumption that it was respected in its entirety. On the whole, we may even have to believe that by reason of the importance attributed to it, it was known with sufficient exactness'.[3] The veracity and weight of these two views will be evident from the following account.

The traditional history of China starts with *Wu Ti* or the Five Sovereigns, sometimes preceded by Three August Ones (San Huang). The first three of the Five figure in the works connected with Confucian tradition. 'The Sovereigns whom traditional history has succeeded in rendering real,' says Granet, 'are presented as sages rather than as heroes.' The history of the Three Dynasties is constructed with material derived from the *Shu-king*, which was completed by the *She-king*, the Chinese classic in poetry, and the Annals written on Bamboo.'[4] Chronology commenced under the king P'ing. Ssu-ma, Tan, annalist and official astrologer, 'conceived the

1. Durant: *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. i, *Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. 717-19.

2. Granet: *The Chinese Civilization*, p. 51.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 58. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

idea of the Historical Memoirs.' His son, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who edited the Memoirs, also participated in the project of recasting the Calendar. He himself was alive at the time when 'History and Time began afresh' and it was he who fixed the methods of the Chinese historical writing. He was copied by all his successors and the same spirit has constantly 'inspired the choice of facts, the processes of exposition, the system of philosophic interpretation.'[5] History started anew in the reign of Emperor Wu and it began to deal with kings. Its purpose is thus set forth by Granet:

> Its task is to judge their virtues......It is engaged in noting in successive cycles the infallible repetitions. It only knows typical heroes and stereotyped events. At bottom it has only to occupy itself with one personage: the sovereign, the Unique Man, whose virtue is typical of a particular moment of time. History does not differ from a Calendar, illustrated by general pictures. Equally it may be said, it is born of speculations about the Calendar.[6]

Under the same sovereign the work of religious restoration was accompanied by historical reconstruction. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, 'the official annalist and reformer of the Calendar,' also constructed the first systematic history of ancient China.' Again, it was from his reign that works of antiquity 'began to be examined with some precision.' According to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the only historical evidence extant at that time consisted of the seignorial annals, which were 'abridged by editing' and thus rendered 'incomplete,' and 'if the *She-King* and the *Shu-King* have reappeared, 'he said, 'it is because some copies of them have been preserved in certain houses.'[7] According to a tradition, part of the *She-king* was

5. *Ibid.*, p. 46. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 47. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

'recited from memory by an old man of ninety in the reign of Emperor Wen (179-157 B. C.). Other parts, it is stated, might have been 'rediscovered' about the end of the second century at the earliest when the walls of a house of Confucius were pulled down. Some of the chapters, it is also alleged, were recast with the aid of a copy which had remained hidden in a wall for a long time. We are also assured that 'the works of antiquity were written in varnish on boards, tied together in piles.' The ties did not endure long and the decipherment of the characters also presented a puzzling problem. The change in the Chinese system of writing also added to the gravity of the problem. According to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the family of Confucius had in its custody a copy of the *Shu-king* in ancient characters and one of its members, K'ong Nagan-kuo, interpreted it in modern characters about the end of the second century. The *Shu-king* loomed large in the contemporary literature as a source of guidance. The best way of gaining Imperial patronage, we are informed, was to base all announcements on historical precedents.[8]

With regard to the 'Annals written on Bamboo,' to which a reference has already been made, we are informed that neither Pan Ku nor Ssu-ma Ch'ien was able to make use of them. The year 281 A.D. witnessed their recovery from a tomb which had remained closed since 299 B.C. When the tomb was opened after about 600 years, we are told, some of the splinters of the wood on which they were written 'served as torches.' The remaining bundles were lying 'scattered at random.' Their script had long ceased to be current and the scripts, 'once more gathered together,' remained in the 'secret archives' for a long time. It is evident

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

from the inventory which we have of them that they opened with the Hsia Dynasty which lasted longer than the Yin Dynasty. They bear dates beginning with 771 B.C. Mention may appropriately be made here of a recent discovery of considerable importance, which has lent sufficient support to the historical character of the Yin Dynasty — the archaic characters graven on the bones mixed up with tortoise-shell, exhumed in the village of Honan and deciphered by M. Lo Chen-yu in the beginning of the 20th century.[9]

Marcel Granet closes his account of historical sense in China with the following criticism: 'The works which the Chinese have preserved have been preserved with an admirable religious piety....Little hope is to be placed in the help which the astronomers might bring to disentangle Chinese chronology.' It is therefore safe to follow Ssu-ma Ch'ien to leave without chronology the periods anterior to 841 B. C. The raw material for history was drawn mostly from discourses containing 'themes of an immemorial rhetoric.' Instead of finding himself face to face with 'historical facts,' the reader finds himself in the presence of 'artificially constructed history.' In short: 'The whole history of ancient China rests on a system of forgeries, at once ingenious and scholarly.....' It is impossible to believe today that the Chinese historians 'have not altered the original texts.' As in the case of the ancient history of all other countries, so also in that of China: History 'emerges from the drama, the epic poem or the romance.' The Chinese began to take true interest in historical facts rather late.[10]

The following account of Chinese Historiography by Robert Flint, the famous philosopher-historian of France, will be found full of facts and force:

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9. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56, 59-60. 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-58.

The Chinese have undoubtedly surpassed all other great oriental peoples in the department of historical literature. To this result their rare sense for the realities of common life, their reverence for ancestors and antiquity, their comparative lack of imagination, their moderation of judgment, political good sense, and social virtues, and their high appreciation and diligent pursuit of learning and culture, have all contributed. No people can boast of so lengthened and strictly continuous a series of historical writers: since for upwards, apparently, of 2600 years a tribunal has been established in the capital expressly for the recording of events supposed to be of national importance. The mass of Chinese literature is immense. It includes the histories of particular dynasties, annals or chronological summaries, complete records or general histories, memoirs of many kinds, biographies innumerable, vast historical dictionaries and compilations. It exhibits all ages and aspects of the national life, and much of it is written in a style which commends itself to Chinese taste as admirable. But even Chinese historiography scarcely rises above the stage of annals. It diligently collects and carefully arranges notices of historical fact, but it does not critically test them, and still less does it penetrate into the inner spirit and follow the essential development of the history. It lacks the thoroughness of science and the comprehensiveness of philosophy It fails to rise to any truly general point of view. It is cultivated only as a nationally useful art; not realised to be the mirror in which humanity can contemplate the reflection of its own nature.[11]

The two most celebrated historians of China, although separated by twelve centuries, bear the same family name. Szema-Thsian (born about B.C. 145) wrote 'Historical Records' (Sze Ke), a kind of encyclopaedia of all that appeared historically noteworthy in the annals of China from the reign of Hwang-te to that of Wo-te — *i. e.* from about 2,697 before the Christian era to the age in which the author lived. He distributed his materials into three divisions, and various subdivisions, yet presented them as far as possible chronologically. Hence his work bears, as has been said, no slight analogy to Henry's 'History of Great Britain,' or the 'Pictorial History of England.' It has served as a model to many subsequent Chinese historians, is regarded with admiration by native critics, and has been highly commended by such eminent European authorities as Schott and Remusat. Szema-Kwang, often styled the "Prince of Literature," flourished in the eleventh

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11. Flint: *Philosophy of History*, p. 44.

century of our era, and produced the 'Universal Mirror for Rulers' (Tsze Che Tung Keen). It describes a period of 1,362 years, and flows on, in the main, as a single continuous stream of narrative. It has been the most popular of Chinese histories. It has been often added to, and with the additions bringing the record onwards to the eighteenth century, it was translated into French by Father Mailla, and published by Grosier and Le Roux in 12 vols., 1777-83.[12]

Japan.

In 1334 Kitabatake produced *Jintishotoki* or "History of the True Succession of the Divine Monarchs" on the familiar note that Great Yamato (Japan) is a *Divine Land*, founded by the *Divine Ancestor*. First published in 1649, it aimed at the restoration of the ancient faith and the state. Arai Hakuseki, who influenced the intellectual life of Yedo in the second half of the seventeenth century, is looked upon as 'the most scholarly and impartial of the Japanese historians.' Smiling at the Christian theology of orthodox missionaries, and dubbing it as 'very childish', he ridiculed equally vehemently the legends which his own countrymen mistook for history. The Hankampu, a 30-volume history of the Daimyo, regarded as 'one of the marvels of literature', is a monument to his memory.[13]

Robert Flint has given a good account of Japanese historical spirit and we reproduce the following extracts from it to supplement our account:

> The Japanese have been, like the Chinese, liberally endowed with the historical spirit.[14]
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> In the eighth and ninth centuries, what are known as the 'Six National Records' were composed by a number of writers, of

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12. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

13. Durant: *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. i, *Our Oriental Heritage*, pp. 885-87.

14. Flint: *Philosophy of History*, p. 45.

whom Sigwara Michizane has left the highest reputation. From the tenth to the thirteenth century there was a marked advance in the art of historical composition and the power of historical reflection. Throughout the whole of the Japanese feudal period, however, as in the European feudal period, although there were numerous chroniclers, there were very few historians in the stricter sense of the term. Near its close there appeared a vast and celebrated historical work, the *Dai Nihonshi.* It was composed by the Prince of Mito (1622-1700), aided by many Japanese and Chinese scholars. It covered the whole ground of Japanese history down to 1413. The aim of the prince was to discredit the Shoguns as unrighteous usurpers, and to exalt the Mikado as the sole source of legitimate and beneficent authority; and his work was so skilfully adapted to its end, and produced so powerful an effect, that he may be regarded, as Mr. Satow has said, "as the real author of the movement which culminated in the revolution of 1868."[15]

The first Japanese author who attempted to raise history to the rank of a science, or to form a philosophy of history, was Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725). He is regarded by his countrymen as having been unsurpassed by any thinker of their nation in originality, comprehensiveness, and profundity; as an eminent scholar, a statesman of the noblest type, and a creative genius in the department of political economy. His *Tokushi Yorom* is, says Professor Griffis, "a most valuable philosophical view of the different changes which have taken place at various times in the distribution of the governing power in Japan." The greatest Japanese historian, however, would appear to have been Rai Sanjo (1780-1833). He is acknowledged to have been careful and critical in research, and of penetrating insight in the interpretation of events. It is impossible to read even the extracts which have been translated from his works without being impressed by his power of graphic and dramatic presentation. He was obviously a man of rare genius. It is interesting to observe that, although writing in the present century, he, like Thucydides and Livy, puts speeches of his own composing into the mouths of the personages brought before us in his works.[16]

Modern Japan can boast of a truly native school of historical criticism. The most remarkable treatises which have proceeded from it are those of Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), and of

15. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843), relating to the ancient national chronicles. Of that of Motoori, an account has been given by Professor Severini; but notwithstanding its intrinsic interest, it would be irrelevant to treat here of a work first published during the last century. A conspicuous peculiarity of Japanese literature is the multitude of its historical romances, many of them dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries.[17]

Egypt.

Egyptian Historiography is stated to be as old as history itself. Historical records were the proud possessions of the patriarchs of the pre-dynastic period. The Pharaohs used to take official historians with them on their expeditions. History-writing had become 'a cosmetic art, and official historians recorded or invented the details of their victories, actual or alleged. They prepared lists of the kings, named the years after them and recorded the principal events of their reigns in chronological order. This goes as far back as 2,500 B.C. By the time of Thutmose III the chronicles had become 'full-fledged histories, eloquent with patriotic emotion.'[18]

Babylonia.

Writing was highly valued in ancient Babylonia. It was the open sesame to governmental and sacerdotal office, commercial career and priestly profession. The Babylonians used to write in cuneiform on tablets of damp clay with a pencil or stylus. 'Tablets in jars, classified and arranged on shelves, filled numerous libraries in the temples and palaces of Babylonia. The libraries of Babylonia are lost, but the one at Borsippa, regarded as one of the greatest of the lot, was copied and carefully kept in the Library of Ashurbanipal and its 30,000 tablets are the torches of light for

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17. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

18. Durant: *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. i, *Our Oriental Heritage*, p. 178.

Babylonian life and thought. To Babylonia we owe 'tons of historiography.' Chronicles of conquests of kings, vicissitudes of temples, outstanding events, etc. provided the perennial themes. Berosus, the best of Babylonian historians (ca 280 B. C.), took up the creation of the world and the early history of man as his subjects and narrated them with confidence.[19]

Sumeria.

Writing is rightly regarded as the most remarkable phenomena in the remains of Sumeria. It was employed as an instrument of industry and commerce in connection with the preservation of conditions of contracts, bills, receipts, etc. and a tool of religious record, in connection with the safe storage of sacred legends, magic formulae, ceremonial procedures, etc. The Sumerian stone inscriptions date back to 3,600 B. C. and the clay tablets made their appearance four centuries later. 'With this malleable material the scribe kept records, executed contracts, drew up official documents, recorded property, judgments and sales, and created a culture in which the stylus became as mighty as the sword. Having completed the writing, the scribe baked the clay tablet with heat or in the sun, and made it thereby a manuscript far more durable than paper, and only less lasting than stone. This development of cuneiform script was the outstanding contribution of Sumeria to the civilizing of mankind.'[20]

Great libraries had sprung up in Sumeria by 2,700 B. C. De Sarzac discovered at Tello a collection of over thirty thousand tablets 'ranged one upon another in neat and logical array.' By 2,000 B. C. the Sumerian historians had begun to reconstruct

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19. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-50.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

the past and record the present for the edification of the future.' Fragments of their fonds have come down to us in the form of quotations in the later chronicles of Babylonia. Through the remarkable relics, so far salvaged, one can have a glimpse of the civilization and splendour of Sumeria.[21]

Syria.

The invention of the alphabet, which is rightly regarded as 'the first in significance among the boons conferred upon mankind' is also 'considered by some the greatest gift conferred on humanity by the Syrian civilization.' This alphabetic system, it is stated, was founded by the Phoenicians on the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Greeks who 'borrowed' it between 850 and 750 B. C., 'preserved the Semetic names of the characters and the general form and serial order.' The abundance of inscriptions and scripts in Syria, under the circumstances, is not so surprising as it seems to be. Archaeological finds have added to our knowledge of Syrian history.[22] Referring to these fruitful finds, Professor Hitti has stated:

> Most precious among the varied finds which the site (Ra's al-Shamrah) yielded were the clay tablets bearing alphabetic script in cuneiform style and found in the temple area. Copied in the early fourteenth century, the originals were composed considerably earlier. The script has thirty characters. The language is a Canaanite dialect. The material is mostly ritual and religious. The find restores an important portion of the long-lost Canaanite literature. One of the most significant poems deals with the yearly struggle between the vegetation deity Aliyan Baal (*ba'al*, lord) and his antagonist Mot (*mat*, death). Mot first vanquishes Baal, as is appropriate in a land where summer drought puts an end to vegetable life; but with the renewal of the rains in autumn Baal scores his victory over Mot. It is possible that this poem was acted as a sacred drama on the Syrian coast centuries before the Greeks, considered the fathers of the drama, had conceived.[23]

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21. *Ibid.*, p. 132. 22. Hitti: *History of Syria*, pp. 109, ff.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Chapter III

HISTORICAL SENSE IN THE WEST

Add the following at the end of this Chapter:

Christian Conception.

'The Old Testament is not only law; it is history, poetry and philosophy of the highest order.... Even Genesis, if we read it with some understanding of the function of legend, is (barring its genealogies) an admirable story, told without frill or ornament, with simplicity, vividness and force. And in a sense we have here not mere history, but philosophy of history; this is the first recorded effort of man to reduce the multiplicity of past events to a measure of unity by seeking in them some pervading purpose and significance, some law of sequence and causation, some illumination for the present and the future. The conception of history promulgated by the Prophets and the priestly authors of the Pentateuch survived a thousand years of Greece and Rome to become the world-view of European thinkers from Boethius to Bossuet'.[24]

Chapter VIII

ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE PAST

Insert the following at the end of line 9 (from top) of page 259:

Rumi's Ideas.

Rumi also dealt with and developed the theory or theme of evolution in the following verses:

از جمادی مردم و نامی شدم — وزنما مردم بحیوان سرزدم
مردم از حیوانی و آدم شدم — پس چه ترسم کے زمردن کم شدم
حملۂ دیگر بمیرم از بشر — تا بر آرم از ملائک بال و پر
بار دیگر از ملک پراں شوم — آنچه اندر وهم ناید آن شوم
پس عدم گردم عدم چوں ازغنون — گویدم کانا الیه راجعون[25]

24. *Ibid.*. pp. 139-49; Russell: *Western Philosophy of History*, *pp.* 322, *ff.* 25. Rumi: *Masnawi*, *Daftar iii*, p. 97.

Translation:

Dying from the inorganic we developed into the vegetable kingdom. Dying from the vegetable we rose to the animal. And leaving the animal we became men. Then what fear that death will lower us? The next transition will make us angels. From angels we shall rise and become what no mind can conceive; we shall merge in Infinity as in the beginning. Have we not been told, 'All of us will return unto Him'?

The late Hon'ble Mr. Justice Amir Ali drew upon these verses and said that the body belongs to the material world and the soul to the spiritual or immaterial; that angels are above human beings and God is above the angels; and that in this way the lowest is linked with the highest by ceaselessly striving to cast off the bonds of matter[26]—this in the same way as the contents of an egg cast off their cover on becoming a chicken.

Add the following at the end of the paragraph under the caption *Judaism* on page 269:

Judaic Belief.

'The nearest approach to an almost universally accepted creed in Judaism was that projected by the famous Jewish philosopher, Moses ben Maimon, or Maimonides, in the latter part of the twelfth century, as an appendix to his commentary on the Mishna Sanhedrin. It consists of the following thirteen articles of faith: (1) Belief in the existence of God; (2) in His Unity; (3) in His incorporeality; (4) in the eternity of God; (5) belief that worship is due to Him alone; (6) belief in prophecy; (7) belief that Moses was the greatest of all prophets; (8) that the Torah (the written and oral Law) was revealed to Moses on Sinai; (9) that it is immutable: (10) that God is omniscient; (11) belief in reward and punishment in this world and in life hereafter; (12) belief in the coming of the Messiah; (13) in resurrection of the dead. This creed was later formulated as a credo, every article commencing, 'I believe.' It was also versified, set to music, and admitted to the prayer book.[27]

26. Amir Ali: *The Spirit of Islam*, pp. 424-25.
27. Jurji: *The Great Religions of the World*, p. 237.

Chapter XI

ROLE OF RELIGION IN FUTURE

Add the following to footnote 124 on page 414:

A profession of faith, of general belief, in the books of Zoroaster suffices; nor is there any obligation to believe all the statements contained in these; one must admit that, for a long period, this attachment was blind; but, blind as it was, it had the advantage of rendering the Parsis as recalcitrant to conversion, as opposed to proselytism. Old travellers have always made a note of this peculiarity as tending to preserve intact the nucleus of the Zoroastrians without adding to it by new adhesions.[28]

After the second paragraph on page 419 add:

Conflict Between Science and Religion.

Dealing with 'the conflict between science and religion', Gerald Bullett has made the following observations:

Much has been said and written about the conflict between science and religion, and the inexactitude of the phrase would be unimportant if it had not become the source of a widespread misconception. For in truth there is, and can be, no conflict between science and religion properly so called. The conflict, the age-long quarrel, is between the theologian and the scientist; and it depends for its continuance on the fact that neither can always resist the temptation to stray into the other's province. Religion, in its task of providing a spiritual interpretation of human experience, can have nothing to fear from science, the sole legitimate concern of science being the observation and analysis of the material phenomena. The scientist, as such, has no use for religion: like the judge on the bench he must take no cognizance of anything not given in the evidence before him. It is only when he turns philosopher that the possibility of conflict arises. The deterministic materialism assumed in science is a working hypothesis which has yielded magnificent results in its proper realm, the realm of factual knowledge and mechanical invention. Practitioners of science have proceeded on two assumptions: that matter is "there", and that its behaviour is deteminate. I do not myself see how they could have got on

28. Murzban: *History of the Parsees*, Vol i,. p. 14.

without these assumptions, nor why their not having attempted to do so should be a matter for indignation. It is true that modern physics admits a new Principle of Indeterminacy, but I cannot help doubting whether this fact has any real bearing on the ancient philosophical problem: the statement that the behaviour of an individual electron cannot always be infallibly predicted by the mathematical physicist would seem, on the face of it, to tell us more about the limitations of mathematical physics than about the nature of the physical world. Science proper is not concerned to prove the existence, as a thing in itself, of the matter which it observes and analyses. The status in reality of the physical universe is a question not of physics but of metaphysics.[29]

It is hardly necessary to add here that the spiritual and the physical phenomena form two different categories. The former, unlike the latter, are not susceptible of scientific treatment—analysis and experimentation, perception and proof. They pertain to the province of sense, spirit and soul and the approach to them, as different from that to the physical phenomena, is through feeling, experience, intuition, insight, inspiration and inner knowledge or *Ilm-ul-Ladunni.* This is in line with logic and there is nothing unreasonable about it. Therefore, to treat the spiritual phenomena scientifically (i. e. according to physical science) would be as unreasonable and illogical as to treat the physical phenomena spiritually. It does not, however, follow that because the spiritual phenomena cannot be explained and accounted for by physical science, we are at liberty to include all sorts of absurdities in religion on that score and seek shelter under the word '*spiritual*' and the view that they cannot be explained by physical science. Reason will decide the issue either for or against in each case.

After the third paragraph on page 392 add:

Good Producing Evil and Evil Producing Good.

"We do not wonder at evil producing evil or good good. For a given effect we naturally look to a

29. Bullett: *Problems of Religion*, pp. 11-12.

cause of its own kind." But we do wonder at evil producing good and good producing evil. Here the emphasis is shifted from the natural and normal course of causation to 'the unnatural and abnormal relation of the cause and effect, or 'between the means and the end.' This is explained by saying that 'it is possible for sin to get hold of the very motives and instruments of goodness and to turn them to its own ends,"— a perversion of the moral law. It is also argued that 'sinful desires and intentions can put into operation God's physical laws, and make them the ministers and conductors of evil. They find at their command an immense array of ordered agencies and successions, ready to carry out and propagate with unfailing energy and certainty their unhallowed force. Evil is thus perpetually usurping agencies that were meant for good.' We feel it, it is stated, 'because we are moral beings... endowed with a moral and spiritual nature' and a *conscience* or 'the sense of what is good and right in us.' Another quality which raises man above the animal is *reason.* Without these two qualities man is no better than animal, specially when he does not put them to their proper use. "Better to be a mere animal with an animal's untroubled satisfactions, better to be a creature without reason and conscience, if reason and conscience cannot control your life.. In the merely animal nature the appetites and passions are simply natural tendencies, seeking their own ends, but in a being made for things infinite and eternal the passions and appetites do not remain what they are in the animal;' they are tamed and toned down, curbed and controlled by conscience and reason.[30]

30. Caird: *University Sermons*, pp. 52, ff.; *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, Volume II. pp. i, ff. Also see pp. 249-50 of this Volume.

Divinity and Divine Plan.

All revealed religions represented by Islam owe their origin to the existence of eternal and indivisible divinity—God. There is no paucity of literature produced by their proponents. The subject—Divinity and Divine Plan—has, however, attracted few scientists and elicited only casual consideration. The first systematic attempt of its kind on the subject and its various aspects is *The Evidence of God in an Expanding Universe*, produced by not less than forty scientists, all of whom have specialised in their respective fields. It is argued and established that the creation and control of the universe is part of a plan with a purpose rather than an aimless chance or incident. The validity of faith in God and God-worship, the philosophy of science about God and His guidance, and such other questions have received scientific treatment. The argument in favour of God or indivisible divinity is drawn from the creation—mysteries of nature, physical phenomena, flora and fauna, human origin, inventions and discoveries, medicine, etc. and it is proved that there is a healthy harmony between religion and science or that, at any rate, there is no clash or conflict between the two.[31] Hence it is 'intellectually respectable' and most 'scientific' to believe in and worship God as the Creator and Sustainer of the Universe, the Bestower of Blessings and the Benefector of the Creation.[32] Scientific attitude and systematic approach to religion have fortified faith in One God and His worship and paved the way for the acceptance of one universal religion—the Religion of God. It is stated that scientists have found 'the greatest of efficiency in the formation of physical bodies' from the biggest to the smallest, so much so that 'the blood

31. Compare this argument with that presented on pages 412, 420, ff. 536, ff. of this Volume.

32. See *The Evidence of God in an Expanding Universe* and *Questions and Answers on Religion.*

corpuscles of the human body are of just the right shape and size to do the work for which they are made.' It is further asserted that 'the same holds true of other organs, parts and particles.'[33] Quoting the instance of 'the honeycomb in a beehive, among thousands of other objects' and noticing 'the same perfect arrangements and similarity' among millions of their class, Earl Chester Rex has come to the conclusion : "If this and a great deal more does not indicate the intelligence of the one Creator, the control and direction of one supreme God, I surrender what little claim I may have to being a scientist."[34]

Chapter XII

ROLE OF RESEARCH IN HISTORY

With reference to footnote 16 on page 433 read:

The University of London in the United Kingdom, the University of Paris in France and the University of Columbia in the United States of America, for instance, do take into consideration the claims of candidates who have carried on researches independently and qualified themselves for doctoral degrees. The first in particular entertains and treats each individual application for admission to research degrees on its own merits without reference to other such cases but the emphasis on paper qualifications and other restrictive regulations regarding residence, etc. still continues and retards real research and deprives those less favoured by fortune of the fruits of their labours. When the highest honorary degrees are freely conferred on very important personalities for eminence other than that in research, there is no reason why such degrees should not be awarded to deserving scholars for actual original research on the merits of the work done by them, whether published or unpublished.

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33. *The Evidence of God in an Expanding Universe*, p. 180.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

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INDEX

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

FROM BABAR TO AURANGZEB

(*First Printed in* 1936. *Second Revised Edition in Press*)

Price about Rs. 10/-

Extracts from the late Sir Abdul Qadir's Introduction:—

.........Students of Indian history owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. S. M. Jaffar of Peshawar for his book, which gives a very readable account of **'The Mughal Empire'**, opening with the reign of Babar and coming down to Aurangzeb. Mr. Jaffar has taken great pains to study the numerous books on the subject that are available in English, Persian and Urdu, and has beautifully summarized the material contained in them. The list of books used or consulted by him, given at the end of his valuable work, will show the range of his vast study and research. The result is a book considerably different from and decidedly superior in treatment and style to the existing text-books on Indian history. The author, as an enlightened Muslim, is naturally in sympathy with the Great Mughal Rulers who professed the faith of Islam and succeeded in establishing a vast and wonderful Empire in a country to which the Founder of the dynasty originally came as an invader from his Central Asian home. Mr. Jaffar does not conceal his admiration for the Mughals, yet he is not forgetful of his duty as an historian and comes out with frank criticisms of the policies and administrations of the Emperors whose reigns are described by him.

It is refreshing to note that the author has not confined his attention to the events of the period with which he is concerned, or to the dates of those events. These details may be important in themselves, but they are, after all, rightly called the dry bones of history. He has clothed the dry bones with flesh and blood and colour by dealing with the many aspects of the social life of the people, their progress in arts and letters and the effect of each reign on these vital things. I am sure that this part of his effort will be very much appreciated by his readers. I think it is time that this line of history be developed to the fullest extent possible. I know that the materials for it are comparatively meagre and have to be *sifted* and collected with great research out of the heaps of rubbish in which they are lying scattered. The work, however, is worth doing, and Mr. Jaffar is one of those who realize its value and have tried to accomplish it. He has already contributed very substantially to this neglected field of

Indian history by writing two other well-documented books, one on '*Education in Muslim India*' and other on '*Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India.*'

Besides the special features of Mr. Jaffar's excellent book, briefly referred to above, there are many other features, equally attractive, which need not be *dilated* upon here and will be better appreciated by the reader when perusing the book itself. I think it can be safely said that the author has succeeded in giving to the students of Indian history an accurate as well as an instructive account of the Mughal Rule in India in its palmy days. The book is a most useful contribution to Indian historical literature and should interest not only the general reader, but also students of history in schools and colleges.

Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., D. Lit., F. R. Hist. S., Professor of History, University of Allahabad:—

I have read '*The Mughal Empire*' with great interest. The book displays great erudition and industry, and is marked by an originality of treatment and freshness of outlook which are complete contrast to the existing works on the subject. I am greatly impressed with the book.

Dr. G. E. Carpani, Ph. D., The Indian Research Institute, (Italian Branch), Bologna, (Italy):

.........I cannot but congratulate you (author) on the excellent work you have done. Your able and scholarly investigations are a valuable and welcome contribution to the study of Indian history and culture, throwing much light on its dark places. I entertain a very high opinion of your publications.

Professor H. K. Sherwani, M. A., (Oxon), F. R. Hist S., etc., Head of the Department of History and Politics, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan:—

.........Your excellent book.........fills a gap in books on Indian history in that it delineates the episodes of the Mughal era from an unprejudiced and correct view-point, bringing out the cultural aspect of that unique period...I heartily congratulate you on your achievement.

Islamic Culture, Hyderabad-Deccan:—

"......As far as it goes, his book is a useful corrective to several existing books on the period. In a concise and lucid manner, he tells the story of Mughal rule in India; its splendour, its tolerance, its concern for the people of all classes and creeds, its justice and cultural greatness— all find a place in the description. He is

scrupulously fair to the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Marathas: and his zeal for Islam does not blind him to the beauty and greatness of other creeds. There is no other book which, in the same compass, gives such a clear picture of the period.

Asiatic Review, London:—

.........An able and conscientious volume wherein is gathered up perhaps all that history knows of Moghal Rule in India...

EDUCATION IN MUSLIM INDIA

(1000—1800 A. C)

First Printed in 1936. *Second Revised and Enlarged Edition in Press.*

Price about Rs. 10.

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

By *Professor H. K. Sherwani*, M. A. (Oxon), F. R. Hist. S., F.R.A.S., Head of the Department of History & Politics, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan:—

I believe it was Froude who once said something to the effect that one should not raise one's pen to write unless one can add to human knowledge, and there is no doubt that Mr. S. M. Jaffar has done a great service to the cause of education in general and Indian Culture in particular by writing this book on 'Eduction in Muslim India' and thus made a distinctive contribution to the field of Indian historical literature.

Time was when a student of Indian history had to be content with knowing something about warring dynasties, court intrigues, internecine feuds and other matters which went to make the 'history' of this country a subject of useless, if not actually harmful study. Happily, we have now come to feel the necessity of the whole of Indian history being rewritten not so much from the point of view of occurrences at the capitals of various states as in order to delineate the spread of culture and to demonstrate the value of its present composite form, so that our people may not be led away by the false notion that whatever paraphernalia of civilization we possess does not go back to more than a century and a half. Indian civilization, with its real and inherent unity in the midst of its outward diversity, is age-long and not a mere graft and this is one of the great and abiding results of the events which go to form the history of India.

Mr. Jaffar has stressed the right point when he describes how the people began to drink at the fountain of knowledge without

regard to their rank or religion; and education, once the monopoly of the chosen few, nearly ceased to have any barriers round it. It was not merely instruction in the traditional Reading, Writing and Arithmetic which was imparted, but the magnificent monuments of the Age, the wonderful technique of apparel, wood and metal-ware, the great precision in the execution of public monuments, the abundance not only in commodities but in the monetary wealth as well, which went to purchase them, the strides taken in the arts of war as well as of peace—all these things lead one to estimate, in however meagre a manner, the great progress made in the equipment of the people, high and low, with the right kind of vocational and technical knowledge.

I am very glad to find that Mr. Jaffar has brought out these and many other equally important and attractive traits in his valuable work by tapping the information contained in the contemporary chronicles and has thus filled a long-felt want. I am sure that the book will be of great use to the student of Indian history as well as to the general reader, and trust that it will receive the recognition it so fully deserves.

The late Right Honourable *Dr. Sir Akbar Hydary*, Kt., P. C., etc., Hyderabad (Deccan):—

I congratulate you (author) on the results of your labours. The sincerity of scholarship with which the material has been handled places your book in a position, I should think, to bear valuable testimony to the progress and vitality of cultural India under the aegis of the Muslin Kings in India. I hope the book is receiving the welcome it so thoroughly deserves....

The late Dr. Sir *Zia-ud-Din Ahmad*, Aligarh:—

I have read with great pleasure and profit.........an excellent treatise......I heartily congratulate its author on the merits of this important achievement.

Dr. **P. K. Acharya**, I.E.S, M.A., Ph. D., D. Lit (London), Head of Oriental Departments, University of Allahabad:—

The book will supply educationists and general public with a store of useful information......all will be grateful to him (author) for his patient research and an interesting picture he has drawn...... a neatly printed volume......will be treasured by all educationists...

Professor **H. L. O. Garrett,** C. I. E., I. E. S., (Retired), M.A., F. R. Hist. S., London:—

He (author) has made a most useful contribution to the study of Muslim Rule in India.

Dr. **Beni Prasad,** M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc. (London), University of Allahabad:—

It is a very careful, painstaking and scholarly piece of work and should be welcome to students of Indian history.

Dr. **K. G. Saiyidain,** D. Ed., Aligarh, :—

...Highly interesting and valuable book...hasten to offer you my congratulations on completing a very useful piece of work. Students of Indian educational history should be grateful to you for this work.

Dr. **Zakir Hussain,** M.A., Ph.D., Formerly Principal, Jamia Millia, Delhi Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh:—

......Your admirable study......Students of Indian history will welcome this treatise as a useful guide......a valuable contribution to Indian historical literature.

The Late Hon'ble Dr. Sir **S. M. Sulaiman**, Chief Justice, Allahabad High Court and Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh:—

Your two books 'The Mughal Empire and 'Education in Muslim India'. Allow me to congratulate you on their excellence. I am delighted to find that you have done such considerable research work.

SOME CULTURAL ASPECTS OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

(First Print : 1945*—Second Print :* 1952. *Third Print in Press)*
Price about Rs. 12/-

Rt. Hon. Dr. Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru, Kt., P. C. etc.:—

I have read and found the book very informing and interesting. I desire to congratulate you on your work which bears ample testimony to your learning and industry.

The late Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., D. Litt. F. R. Hist S., Professor of History, University of Allahabad :—

I have read the work entitled *'Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India'* by Mr. S. M. Jaffar with great interest. It is a very clear and lucid exposition of the cultural heritage of Muslim India and analyses with great ability and industry aspects of Muslim administration ignored by scholars...I am greatly impressed with the orderly presentation of data and the scientific treatment which the author has adopted throughout the work. It

is an excellent piece of work, and deserves to be read by scholars throughout India.

Islamic Culture, Hyderabad (Deccan) :—

Mr. S. M. Jaffar is well known to students of Indian history, and in his previous volumes "*Education in Muslim India*" and "*The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb*" has already shown that he is equal to the task of dealing with Indian history from a correct and unbiassed view-point. Thus the book under review is the third of the series, and as a matter of fact surpasses Mr. Jaffar's previous works in breadth of view, erudition and logical sequence...After reading Mr. Jaffar's book one is almost shocked how much is hidden from the common view which would go to add a hundred times to the glory that was India in the Middle Ages......Mr. Jaffar has done ample justice to the subject he has taken up. He has conclusively proved that the Middle Ages of Indian history, when Indian Muslim Kings and Emperors ruled the land, was not a period of history dominated by a foreign people, but was a phase of the action and reaction which has produced Indian Culture as we know it and of which the Indian patriot of whatever religious belief might well be proud.

The Pioneer, Lucknow:—

In this book the author has summed up the cultural achievements of Muslim rule in India If true facts about Muslim rule in India were made known to the Hindus much of their existing bitterness towards their Muslim fellow countrymen would quickly disappear......Mr. Jaffar's book should be read by all those who are anxious to learn the truth about Muslim rule in India.

The Hindustan Review, Patna :—

The author of this book has also written some other volumes dealing with Muslim affairs. He has now turned his attention to a subject of great interest to all Indians. There is doubtless need now-a-days for a cultural history of Muslim India, which Mr. Jaffar's work attempts to meet......This well-written book deserves serious study at the hands of all students of Indo-Muslim culture as it brings into prominent relief some of its leading characteristic features.

PESHAWAR: PAST AND PRESENT

Being a brief account of historical places in Peshawar and its neighbourhood from the Buddhist times to the present day.

First printed in 1945. Second Revised Edition in Press.

Price Rs. 10/-

The Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore :—

Peshawar, one of the oldest cities of India, abounds in places of historical interest. In this book, S. M. Jaffar, Professor of History, Islamia College, Peshawar, gives a brief survey of all ancient and modern 'show pieces' of Peshawar, traces their source and origin and embellishes his account with stories of human interest that often gather around places and objects of antiquity.

Dr. **S. N. Sen,** M.A., Ph. D., D. Lit. (Oxon), F.R. Hist. S., Director of Archives, Government of India, New Delhi :—

I have read Mr. S. M. Jaffar's 'Peshawar: Past and Present' with great interest. It will be an excellent guide for visitors of this historic city. Mr. Jaffar has brought together information about his native town and its environments from all available sources and the result has been an extremely readable monograph equally useful for the laymen and the serious students of history.

Dr. **R. C. Majumdar,** M.A., Ph. D., ex-Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Calcutta :—

I have read with great interest and profit 'Peshawar: Past and Present' by Mr. S. M. Jaffar. The book gives a short account of the history and antiquities of Peshawar and surrounding regions. The author has brought together much useful information on this very important subject and anyone, who wants to visit this region, will find a very valuable help and guide in this work. The book deals separately with the monuments of the different periods and discusses the various problems connected with them. Readers will thus get an adequate idea of the Brahmanical, Buddhist, Muslim, Sikh and British monuments with which the region abounds. The book gives at the end English translation of the important inscriptions which will be also of very great help to all travellers. We strongly recommend this book to the visitors who want profitably to study the monuments of the N.W.F.P.

R. P. Patwardhan, Esq., M.A. (Oxon), I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction to the Government of Bombay, Poona :—

I think it an admirable and scholarly account of the monu-

ments of the city and its neighbourhood. The tourists as well as the students of history will be thankful to Mr. Jaffar for providing them with such an excellent guide.

Diwan Bahadur C. S. **Srinivasachari,** M.A., Head of the Department of History, Annamalaya University, Madras :—

A most instructive treatise, succinct and clear in presentation and comprehensive in scope......The book is not thus confined to a treatment of the history of Peshawar City alone, but is really a significant and understanding treatise on the forces and cultures that have operated through ages on the Frontier Region, and it is an apt illustration of the author's intensive and understanding scholarship and clarity at synthesis.

Rev. H. **Heras,** S.J., M.A., Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay:—

Your book on Peshawar is a very comprehensive study from the Buddhist times down to the British period. You have taken great pains in investigating the most minute details, which would appear useless to the men in the street, but which are very precious to the historians and archaeologists. Your references to other works in the footnotes show the scholarly foundations of your statements and point new vistas for investigation to the future research workers.

MEDIAEVAL INDIA UNDER MUSLIM KINGS

VOLUME II–THE GHAZNAWIDS

(Cloth-bound. pp. 280+*xvi* 8Vo. *Crown. Price Rs.* 6/-)

Professor H. K. Sherwani. M. A. (Oxon), F. R. H. S., etc., Head of the Department of History and Political Science, Osmania University, Hyderabad Deccan :

I have been reading your book on the Ghaznawids with great interest and profit. The period which you have so ably scanned is one of the most interesting in the History of India. You have done very well in delineating it for the use of history students and have rightly brought forward the great cultural force that was Ghaznin. The volume, being fully documented, will prove an incentive for those who wish to make a further study of the period. Please accept my congratulations.